

PASTORAL CARE OF THE SICK, THE DYING, AND THE BEREAVED

IN EARLY SWISS AND SOUTH GERMAN PROTESTANTISM

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In memory of Lynn Holmes

A B S T R A C T

Medieval pastoral care of the sick, the dead, and the bereaved was largely composed of sacramental acts: confession, the mass, extreme unction. Priestly aid at death was virtually indispensable. In many situations people died without receiving the sacraments - occasions to be feared and prayed against. At least afterwards the souls in purgatory could still be helped through masses and prayers.

The Catholic reformers wished to cleanse and utilize this sacramental structure. The Protestant movement's challenges undermined it, leaving the Protestant pastor with baptism, the eucharist, sometimes confession and absolution, all with newly-defined significance. The Protestants' critique of the seven sacraments from a pastoral viewpoint reveals many of their assumptions about proper pastoral ministry, and the dimensions of their agreement on the instruments of that ministry and their meaning. Their ministries to the sick, the dying, and the bereaved were woven of proclamation of the gospel and of the law, of instruction and discipline, of views on temptation, the meaning of suffering and death, and providence. Each reformer's own pattern tried to integrate the society in which he worked and his theological opinions.

Concentrating on the sections on visiting the sick and on burial in Church Orders of southern Germany and Switzerland, with some from other areas for comparison, the practical expressions as well as theological explanations are sought. These reformers tried to find in a given situation an appropriate balance between certainty and confidence, and repentance and desire for correction.

The dying were not to be isolated from the healthy. The former needed the comfort and support from the contact; the latter could be reminded and taught of proper preparation for death. The rituals of a particular community's worship and their interpretation were reflected in the patterns at the bedside. Thus differences between Lutheran and Reformed churches can be traced in their pastoral care, but also distinctions within each group. These sometimes cut across Lutheran/Reformed lines, and in this geographical area these categories can mislead as much as clarify.

While attacking what they saw as the dismal pomp and superstition of Catholic practices, the Protestants were concerned that interment be decent. They agreed that acts surrounding burial served only the living. Some arranged for ministerial participation, others did not. Burials were seen as public occasions, opportunities for expressions of love, social solidarity, belief in the resurrection, and if a sermon were held, for admonitions to repentance and reform.

Attitudes and practices regarding deaths of children, sudden deaths, executions of prisoners, suicides, and deaths in epidemics are discussed. They were specific applications of the basic motifs of the Protestant response to death: comfort and instruction, patient acceptance of God's will, and grief tempered by hope.

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I declare that the research documented here is entirely my own work and that this thesis has been composed by myself.

*Beverly S. Olson-Dopffel
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ABBREVIATIONS

BCP	<u>Book of Common Prayer</u> (ed. E.C.S. Gibson)
Bek. Schr.	<u>Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche</u> (ed. Deutscher Evangelischer Kirchenausschuß)
Bu	Martin Bucer
CA	<u>Confessio Augustana</u> (Bek. Schr. I)
Cal	John Calvin
Capt. Babyl.	Luther, <u>De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae</u> (WA 6)
CO	<u>Ioannis Calvini opera...omnia</u> (CR XXIXff.)
Common Places	<u>Common Places of Martin Bucer</u> (ed. & trans. D.F. Wright)
CR	<u>Corpus Reformatorum</u>
Cross	<u>The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church</u> (ed. F.L. Cross)
Denzinger ³⁵	<u>Enchiridion Symbolorum</u> , 35th ed. (ed. H. Denzinger & A. Schönmetzer)
EKG	<u>Evangelisches Kirchengesangbuch</u> (Württemberg ed.)
FS	<u>Festschrift</u>
Grimm	<u>Deutsches Wörterbuch</u> (ed. Jacob & Wilhelm Grimm)
Inst.	Calvin, <u>Institutio Christianae religionis</u>
KO(O)	<u>Kirchenordnung(en): Church Order(s)</u>
Leith	<u>Creeks of the Churches</u> (ed. J.H. Leith)
Loci	Melanchthon, <u>Loci communes theologici</u>
Pauck	English trans. (ed. W. Pauck)
Stud.	Latin, <u>Studienausgabe</u> (ed. H. Engelland)
LThK ²	<u>Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche</u> , 2nd ed.
Lu	Martin Luther
LW	<u>Luther's Works</u> (American ed.)
MBDS	Bucer, <u>Deutsche Schriften</u> (ed. R. Stupperich)
Mel	Philip Melanchthon
Religione	Zwingli, <u>De vera et falsa religione commentarius</u> (CR 90 ZW 3)
RGG ³	<u>Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</u> , 3rd ed.
Richter	<u>Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts</u> (ed. A.L. Richter)
Schlußreden	Zwingli, <u>Auslegen und Gründe der Schlußreden</u> (CR 89 ZW 2)
Schwarz	Johannes Calvins <u>Lebenswerk in seinen Briefen</u> (ed. R. Schwarz) (cited by number)
Seelsorge	Bucer, <u>Von der waren Seelsorge</u> (MBDS 7)
Sehling	<u>Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts</u> (ed. E. Sehling; Institut für evangelisches Kirchenrecht der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland zu Göttingen)
ThStKr	<u>Theologische Studien und Kritiken</u>
WA	<u>D. Martin Luthers Werke</u> (Weimar ed.)
WA Br	<u>Briefwechsel</u>
WA TR	<u>Tischreden</u>
Zw	Huldrych Zwingli
ZW	<u>Huldreich Zwinglis sämtliche Werke</u> (CR 88ff.)
ZwHS	<u>Zwingli Hauptschriften</u> (ed. F. Blanke, et al.)

Bible passages are from the Revised Standard Version, unless part of a direct quotation where the writer's version is used. Full references are given in the bibliographies.

I. INTRODUCTION *

wenn ich gestorben bin
 hat sie gewünscht
 feiert nicht mich
 und auch nicht den tod
 feiert DEN
 der ein gott von lebendigen ist¹

Chapter 1: TO THE PROBLEM

Our problem is death. Sickness - the reminder of death, approaching death, present death, and past death form the problem with which this study is concerned. Of course, we concentrate on a very small part of it: the ways in which ministers of Protestant churches in southern Germany and Switzerland in the sixteenth century sought to help their people properly cope with death. The necessity for such limits in a work of this scope will be obvious, but each of these qualifications requires some explication.

1. Ministers

In clarifying what we mean by "pastoral care" we fortunately need only do so in a way appropriate to our material. We need not seek a definition which can be applied equally well from the second through the twentieth centuries and to a wide range of tasks.² Pastoral care, those tasks which constitute the pastoral ministry, refers for our purposes to those activities of a person designated as a pastor or minister of a church which were meant to help people deal as Christians with disease, suffering, and death. To discover what those activities specifically were, what significance they were given, and what problems they were designed to meet is the aim of our study.

*The notes for this section begin on page 276.

We have therefore taken the word "pastoral" as referring to the work of official representatives of the church, largely omitting consideration of the ministry of laypersons. This is by no means a suggestion that such a lay ministry was non-existent, insignificant, or unwanted, nor that the research needed to reveal it would be unimportant. It will certainly prove more difficult to bring to light its dimensions, character, and role than it is to do that for the pastoral ministry in our sense of the phrase. Yet it is, finally, needed in order to put the latter in its proper context. In other words, our work here can only be seen as a beginning. The same applies with regard to another direction in which investigation of the ministry in the face of sickness and death would be fruitful: to the "left" of our own group of Protestants in that of the "radical reformers". While we have attempted to reach beyond just Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin,³ we have nonetheless largely limited our work to the "magisterial" reformation.

2. Protestant Churches

One striking characteristic of the movement called the Protestant reformation is the closeness of the relationship between theology and the practice of the life of the church. It was certainly no simple relationship, in which a development on the part of one was immediately and accurately reflected on the part of the other. The impulses and influences flowed back and forth, sometimes powerfully, sometimes weakly. The relationship was so close, both aspects often engaging a single individual, that one at times cannot be sure that in one place one is dealing with 'theology' and in another primarily with 'practice'. We have come to think that even in very 'practical' matters theology, though not easily isolated, was the touchstone of the movement. It was not the only cause of the abolition, reform, or introduction of various practices. Yet all of these were justified and explained in theological categories. Proper study of Protestant church life or practice is not possible without consideration of their theological reflections. However, we have tried to consider the latter in the light of the former.⁴

We have chosen the Church Orders as a focus for this study, though other sources have naturally been used. This concentration on the Orders and similar guides is in part because, even though the volumes of Sehling for southern Germany are not all completed, these are the most easily and widely available documents. They are also a logical place to start as one leaves the more theological considerations and seeks out expressions of the actual life of the churches. An exhaustive study of all the Orders of southern Germany and Switzerland would also have exhausted the time available for this work. However, we believe that the most significant Orders are taken into account. Some comparison with important Orders of other churches or those influenced by reformers from our regions seemed profitable and is also included. Yet the time for thorough comparisons in regard to our subject had not yet come. The research on such a broad scale has simply not yet been done.

Other sources for our period are the books on death and dying. Something between sermon, handbook, and treatise, varying according to their authors' intentions, inclinations, and abilities, they served pastors and laity. Judging from lists of library contents and ownership for writings of this type by Caspar Huberinus and Urbanus Rhegius, Gunther Franz believes that all levels of society used such works.⁵ This genre has been studied by Luise Klein,⁶ but unfortunately aspects of the practice of the ministry were ignored in favor of theological investigation. These books lend themselves more immediately to such evaluation, it must be admitted, but they still merit study with other issues in mind.

Information from other kinds of documents tends to be more accidental. Sermons are an obvious source for Protestant opinions and occasionally for practices, though often more for what people were not doing than for what they did. Particularly likely to bear on our themes are sermons dealing with appropriate texts such as stories of healings and raising the dead, the Passion, and certain texts from the epistles. The sections of the Church Orders on the sick and the dead frequently list these, as we shall see. Letters are naturally extremely important in trying to reach the people of the sixteenth century and to trace the pastor's task in ministering to the sick, the dying, the bereaved. Autobiographies and biographies, chronicles, and the often long, dogmatic, but revealing Protestant hymns also deserve mention.⁷

3. Southern Germany and Switzerland

Prompting our investigation was the question of whether the Protestant movement actually produced changes in pastoral care and what those were. Soon involved was the further query about the extent to which the confessional differences within the movement were expressed in the pastoral ministry. Southwestern Germany provides a superb area for studying both. Protestant southern Germany includes the area south of the river Main, with Kurpfalz, Strasbourg, and Württemberg's Montbéliard on the western edge, Oberpfalz and Pfalz-Neuburg on the eastern one.⁸ The close connections of especially the more southern areas such as Strasbourg, Augsburg, also Württemberg, with Swiss cities makes it natural to include the latter. What one has then is a region providing a range of churches, from Lutheran to Zwinglian, with correlative tensions, interrelations, disagreements, friendships, exchanges, and frustrations. Here are territories headed by rulers of various ranks, imperial cities, and cities of the Swiss federation. The variety makes generalization difficult, but attempts at synthesis all the more interesting.

The nature of Protestantism in these parts of Europe has prompted questions which are not directly our concern in this study. However, we feel that consideration of the meaning and role given the pastoral ministry is fruitful for the continuing discussions about the distinctive characteristics of the "Oberdeutschen" reformation⁹ and about the interpretation of growing stability of the reformation,¹⁰ as Heiko Oberman suggests.¹¹

In this context a word is required about the role Luther plays in our study. On purely geographical grounds, if none other, Melancthon's name should appear more frequently than Luther's, of course. However, though one rejoices that the Protestant reformation is more and more treated as not alone Luther's creation, one cannot ignore his significance, authority, and influence. These made him a part of the reformation movement in southern Germany as surely as if he had spoken an Alemannic dialect. However, the reformers of the south, even those we call Lutheran, were no slavish followers of Luther's every word and suggestions. For those not accepting the Lutheran label, Oberman points out that it was especially the earlier works of Luther which were influential, even when the Wittenberg reformer had developed

further.¹² Thus he has a place, an important one, in our investigations, but not the central one. The reformers in the region on which we wish to focus worked in a context which differed from Luther's in many ways - culturally, politically, philosophically, liturgically - in spite of their shared position under the banner of the Protestants.

4. The Sixteenth Century

Precisely the variety of churches considered turns the question of chronological limits into a problem. Each city, each territory, each church had its own pattern and timetable of development in matters affecting reformation. No single date applies to all. Even our lower limit can only be roughly set, since the process of reforming church life got under way in various places at various times.¹³ Still, it is easier to set the earlier line at 'around 1520' than to find an adequate date for the later one.

Yet before venturing to do the latter, something in the nature of a challenge to our just-mentioned date comes from William Clebsch and Charles Jaekle. They maintain that

the Reformation era, with regard to soul care, belongs with this Renaissance period, for, in fact, the Reformation's great upheaval in doctrine and in ecclesiology never generated a corollary revolution in the care of souls....With respect to pastoral care the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries comprise a period which appears to be of a single piece.¹⁴

Even with due respect for the many aspects of continuity between what are still termed the late medieval and the reformation periods, we cannot accept this periodization for our topic. It must be understood within the context of their definition of pastoral care.¹⁵ During these three centuries they see one function of the care of souls as dominant, as other functions predominated in other eras. In this case it is "reconciling", that is, attempts "to re-establish broken relationships between man and fellow man and between man and God."¹⁶

At such an abstract level one can scarcely find grounds to disagree, other than fundamentally: that such a general characterization

of these periods levels the many differences between, for example, Italy, the Netherlands, and Germany, or within cultures, just to fit a scheme of periods and functions. In claiming that the Protestant pastoral ministry, at least in regard to the sick, the dying, and the bereaved, marks a change from the Roman Catholic ministry in such situations, we do not claim a revolution in pastoral care, whatever that may be. At many points in comparison with the past, the word "continuity" is as accurate as the word 'change' in speaking of this reformation. But there were more changes and deeper ones than Clebsch and Jaekle suggest. People of the time evidently noticed them and some at least took them very seriously. They were products of the "upheaval" these two authors seem to isolate in doctrinal matters. Doctrine affected pastoral care. For example, Horst Schmidt-Grave writes that "it was considered true in the late medieval literature on dying on the one hand 'that proper dying washed away all guilt' and on the other hand 'that all who had lived well also died well'."¹⁷ The Protestants could not have said the first, and would only with prior clarification have said the latter. What one did or did not believe affected the way one lived and died "well".

Because we wish to consider - must consider for our topic - theology and practice, a later chronological limit cannot be based solely on one or the other. Since we are especially concentrating on the Church Orders, we have tried to identify the time when their character seemed to change, where few new points were being introduced and where Orders tended to be copies or elaborations of elements already present. This appears to be, again roughly speaking, during the 1560's. Supporting this impression is Winfried Zeller's observation of a "Frömmigkeitskrise", a crisis of piety, in German Protestantism in the last third of the sixteenth century.¹⁸

The problem providing our topic can never be completely confined for study. Through limits and qualifications we have reduced the part upon which we shall concentrate here. From the end of our period we now return to the time before its beginning, for the pastoral ministry of the Protestants is unintelligible, indeed unthinkable, without the patterns of medieval pastoral care.

I praise the true God, I summon the people, I
assemble the clergy, I weep for the dead, I chase
the plague away, I embellish¹ feast days. My voice
is the terror of all devils.

Chapter 2: SICKNESS, DEATH, AND THE LATE MEDIEVAL CHURCH*

The variety of Protestant care for the sick and the dying, evident even in the limited area of southern Germany and Switzerland, should not be taken to be a sudden outbreak of heterogeneity after a period of homogeneous practice. Alone the liturgical resources of the Roman Catholic church before the uniformity of the Rituale Romanum of 1614² which provided the basic pastoral materials for the middle ages encompassed many different forms, however similar in their aims.³ The cultural, geographical, and social conditions within the church further varied the spectrum of the concrete expressions of care for a person in illness, in the face of death, and beyond. Even to deal in detail with the church in southern Germany would require far more space than is available here. Of necessity one falls back on generalizations, seeking to stay on the level where such generalizations still have validity. Finer points remain unmentioned, but their existence or their importance is not thereby denied. Chapter three, on the Protestant appraisal of the support system offered by the Roman church, will also deal with some relevant points.

Prior to discussion of what the church brought the faithful as aid in the crises of sickness and death we need to consider what aspects of death were particularly vivid for the people of the late middle ages. For while death is on the one hand the great common denominator of people in all cultures, however distant from one another in time or place, it is equally true that death has different faces for different cultures. Philippe Ariès, among others, has pointed out how the cultures bordering the northern Atlantic have in the past century tried to banish the thought and sight of death. If this is our culture, are we not far from being on common ground with the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with regard to attitudes to death?⁴

*The notes for this chapter begin on page 277.

The people of those centuries could not avoid for years on end the sight of people dying and dead, and were not able to approach most sickness unaccompanied by the thought that it might prove fatal. They heard Death say, as through the pen of the "Ackermann von Böhmen": "As soon as a person is alive, he is old enough to die."⁵ For Bernard of Clairvaux "this life which we live is a death and not simply life, but rather mortal life."⁶ Just how aware of this basic wisdom of the time a person in the late middle ages was undoubtedly differed in degree from person to person, depending on social elements and individual capabilities for suppression and sublimation.

It has become a commonplace of research on the late middle ages that it was a period in which, as Heinrich Appel describes it, "the final peril (Not), death, governed virtually all manifestations of life, be it that one aims his whole life at a good dying, or be it that one wishes in the flight from dying to enjoy life so much the stronger and wilder."⁷ The omnipresence of death produced a vision of the world which Huizinga sums up as "macabre", a feeling "of something gruesome and dismal" which "arose from deep psychological strata of fear."⁸ Ariès believes that at least among the literate classes there developed from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries

a more personal, more inner feeling about death, about the death of self....(This) betrayed the violent attachment to the things of life but likewise - and this is the meaning of the macabre iconography of the fourteenth century - it betrayed the bitter feeling of failure, mingled with mortality: a passion for being, and anxiety at not sufficiently being.⁹

The psychological state of the peasant of the fifteenth century cannot simply be equated with that of the literate and well-to-do citizen of a town, but it is much more difficult to make generalizations in the former case. Perhaps resignation in the face of death was easier for the peasants. On the other hand, perhaps the fear gripped them with more terrifying force.

Resignation or fear was, at any rate, not the attitude the church wished to have uppermost in the hearts of its faithful in regard to death. Huizinga's remark that the macabre was "at once reduced ... to a means of moral exhortation" by "religious thought,"¹⁰ seems superficial. Death was a crisis for the society, not just for the individual, a time when "fear, confusion, and demoralization"¹¹ threatened to get the upper hand. Walter Neidhart expresses the problem as "that life is continually made

uncertain through death and that again and again the corpse of a member of the society must be disposed of without the other members of the society losing the courage to live."¹²

The church may have seen the basic problem it was to solve as that of saving souls, but at root this was the problem of death. What did the church of the late middle ages offer for coping with death, keeping in mind that it expressed its offer as well as its task in terms of salvation, its theological expression of the problem?

1. The Death of a Christian

A funeral sermon held by Gabriel Biel in 1467 for Margarete of Nassau, Countess in Sayn, discussed by Martin Elze,¹³ represents a principally piety-oriented rather than pedantically dogmatic attempt to deal with the death of a Christian in the late middle ages. It is interesting to see that a learned theologian who was connected intimately with one of the most important movements for renewing Christian life of its time, the Brothers of the Common Life,

in the face of the concrete task of framing a funeral sermon, identifies himself in all continuity with that which was passed down from the horizon of experience of generations long past, that for him and his listeners of that time neither the necessity nor the possibility of adopting other ways for mastering this problem seems to have existed.¹⁴

According to Elze, Biel avoided a scholastic discussion of the problem in form and content which is common in other medieval sermons including his own. Rather, he handled in a devotional and edifying style¹⁵ his two topics: first, "what is in what way to be lamented," and then "by what means of comfort the lament is to be moderated or, more, to be transformed."¹⁶

In the first section of the main part Biel judged death as an evil because it is punishment for sin, because of its inescapability, and because it is the great leveller of rank and estate.¹⁷ But the dead are not so much to be mourned as are the living; for Biel life itself was "misery and delusion" and death was liberation.¹⁸ While he recognized that one grieves for the dead, he used Paul as a witness (I Thessalonians 4.13) that one should not grieve without the consolation of hope. Death

is for the Christian the beginning of blessedness - or at least it is so for the righteous. And how is one to know who counts as being among them?

Biel offered two signs which allow one to suppose, though not to be certain, that oneself or one's neighbor may be included. Taking the weaker sign first, there is sickness. Though it may be divine punishment, illness may also be inflicted by God in a fatherly way. Though one dies, it may be counted as a gift. Less likely to deceive is the second sign, according to Biel: insight. This gift leads one to judge one's life, to patiently bear troubles, to test oneself, and to receive the sacraments of the Church, confession and penance, the eucharist, and extreme unction. A person who has done this can give himself into God's hands, whether to live or to die, knowing himself to be one in faith and love with the Church.¹⁹

Concluding his sermon, Biel called for joy and thanks, for the Countess' dying was marked by both these signs. Further, he admonished his listeners to prepare themselves for such a blessed demise by contemplation of death, which keeps the Christian away from sin and active in good works.²⁰

Biel's thoughts in this sermon were not unusual; precisely for this reason we have chosen it as representative. The main themes of the period's literature on death are echoed here, and they are again echoed in the Protestant literature. Because of our interest in the parallel Protestant works it is worth noting one further point which Elze makes with regard to this sermon. He remarks that there is an almost total absence of christological references in the main part of the sermon. Biel

can preach on death without speaking of the death and resurrection of Christ. The contemplation of the Passion of Jesus with regard to its meaning for salvation, its exemplary character and the contemplation of death move alongside each other without touching one another. That is the more remarkable since with Biel and his listeners it is a question of the Brothers of the Common Life, that is, of the members of a community which build an important branch of the devotional movement (Frömmigkeitsbewegung) of the Devotio moderna, where the Imitatio Christi, which is oriented on Jesus' suffering, is at home.²¹

Biel spoke to two problems of the bereaved: worry about the state of the soul of the deceased and fear of one's own death, of which the other's death has served as a reminder. His solutions were basically those offered by the church - its sacraments - and by the literature on preparation for death.²²

2. The Art of Dying

The unique nature of death as the hinge between the life in this world and that in the next made it an awesome moment for the people of the late middle ages. Ariès believes that by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, at least for the educated classes, there was a

close relationship established between death and the biography of each individual life.... From then on it was thought that each person's entire life flashed before his eyes at the moment of death. It was also believed that his attitude at that moment would give his biography its final meaning, its conclusion.²³

In the context of such beliefs, not only the previous life and the sacramental acts at death, but also the attitudes of the dying person determine the "good" death. Yet it was felt that just at death the devil tried strongest, in one last chance, to capture the soul. To guide the person through the proper channels at death required preparation on the part of the pastor or whoever accompanied the dying and on the part of the central person in the drama.

By the fifteenth century, though the roots go back many hundreds of years, a literary genre had developed to provide aids for such preparation: the "ars moriendi."²⁴ While such books were at first meant as pastoral guides for priests, they came to be translated into the vernacular, so that the laity could help one another on their deathbeds. The priests, especially in times of plague, were not able to care for all the dying.²⁵ But these works were not meant to be pulled down and read only at the deathbed. They were to be used as preparation for death. They were meant to help the one who would die as well as the family or friends who sat by. Who could tell in which role one would first use them?

Originality not being a medieval literary virtue, it is not surprising that various combinations of basic forms, more or less elaborated, are commonly found throughout this genre. One of the oldest pieces frequently used are the so-called "Anselmian questions." These are a series of questions and answers concerning the desire of the dying to die in the Christian faith, to repent, to believe, and to do better if the opportunity is given. These are followed by an admonition to set all trust and hope in the death and merit of Christ alone, then instructions that certain psalms be prayed by the dying, and finally the five "nota bene." These five points, if properly meditated upon, assured entry into eternal life: the brevity of life, its precariousness, the uncertainty of the hour of death, the reward of the righteous, and the punishment of the godless.²⁶

A series of questions are also included in the ars moriendi of the Parisian chancellor, Jean Charlier de Gerson. This work, the third part of his Opus tripartitum (1408), contains four sections: exhortationes, interrogationes, orationes, and finally observationes to guide the helpers of the dying in various matters. These last recommended urging the dying to receive the viaticum and extreme unction, reading aloud the legends of the saints or prayers, holding up a crucifix for the dying to see. The dying were not to be encouraged to hope for recovery but rather to prepare for death. The loyal friend who helps the dying to concentrate on the task at hand was important for Gerson. His ars moriendi was twice translated into German by the Strasbourg preacher Geiler von Kaysersberg, and it was often used in whole or in part in other works.²⁷

Another oft-used form was that of the five temptations, which first appeared around 1450/60 with eleven woodcuts.²⁸ The woodcuts are paired as temptations and good inspirations in the following way:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| 1) <u>temptatio diaboli</u> | 2) <u>bona inspiratio angeli</u> |
| <u>de fide</u> | <u>de fide</u> |
| 3) <u>de desperatione</u> | 4) <u>de spe</u> |
| 5) <u>de impatientia</u> | 6) <u>de patientia</u> |
| 7) <u>de vana gloria</u> | 8) <u>de humilitate</u> (<u>contra vanam</u> |
| | <u>gloriam</u>) |
| 9) <u>de avaritia</u> | 10) <u>contra avaritiam</u> |
| 11) admonition to prayer | |

The woodcuts show the dying person in bed. He is surrounded either by devils, tempting him to despair of salvation, to be impatient in his affliction, to count his good works, to hold on to the things of this world,³⁰ or by angels and saints, strengthening him against these temptations. The deathbed as the place of the great final struggle with temptations was a traditional image which Luther and other Protestants continued to use.³¹ Dying was an event.

3. The Sacraments for the Sick and Dying

Though in the ars moriendi literature the need for lay assistance for the dying was recognized, the institutions of the church were not underestimated. While there were situations in which the lay people had to fend for themselves, that is not the same as actually preferring lay activities to those of the priesthood. Such an idea Gerson, for one, would have found "dangerous and scandalous."³² The desire of most of the faithful was to die supported by the rites of the church as well as by the social rites and customs such as the gathering of family and friends, the candles and prayers, the arrangement of the inheritance. The rigid system of parishes and the rule that the faithful could receive the sacraments only from their parish pastor (except for confession, where the mendicants were very active) meant, however, that many could not hope for regular pastoral care on their deathbed, let alone sickbed, even when there was no epidemic.³³ Nevertheless, the ideal persisted.

From the point of view of dogmatics, nothing was allowed to be out of the control of God. Thus both ways out of sickness, death and recovery, were considered to be expressions of the will of God, though one could not always find a more specific explanation for what happened. Sickness itself was one of God's gifts, "spiritual medicine."³⁴ Yet in spite of its benefits one was to be open for whatever was to follow according to God's will. Recovered health was, one can perhaps suppose, usually not difficult to accept; death was the greater challenge to faith. In a period when the relation of fatal to non-fatal illness was far more in favor of the former than it is in our own culture, it is not surprising that pastoral aids for the sick were at the same time aids for the dying, and that the two themes were not separated in the relevant literature.

The church offered basically the same help for what appeared to be fatal cases and for what seemed to be non-fatal ones. Prayer and blessing, confession, and the Mass were the church's weapons. When one goes on to ask: weapons against what? the issue becomes more complex than it at first appeared. Were they weapons against sin - expressed as impatience and inability to accept sickness, doubt and despair concerning matters of faith, fear of death? Or were they weapons against the disease itself?

That they were weapons against the disease of the soul was not questioned, but to what extent prayers and the sacraments brought about, directly or indirectly, physical benefits is an issue sitting on the controvertible boundary between orthodoxy and superstition. Adolph Franz, in whose books³⁵ the wide range of beliefs and superstitions alive in the middle ages are discussed, expresses the logic of superstitious use of holy things so:

For why should that which possessed such powerful effects for the life of the soul and against the might of the devil not be full of effective force in earthly matters? Therefore one used the baptismal and holy water for the prevention of sickness and mortal dangers.³⁶

Just where such uses begin to be superstitious and heterodox is a moot point, and one which a twentieth-century Protestant would answer differently than a Roman Catholic of the fifteenth century.

Theologians of the medieval church saw that there was a point where belief in the efficacy of the reading of votive masses for the sick or against the plague, of the sight of the elevated host as protection against sudden death or as "cover" for death without the eucharist, of the ablution of the priest's hands after consecration of the host as medicine, of calling upon saints for relief from a particular disease could become questionable. Nevertheless, they did not always take pains to make this clear to the faithful.³⁷ Prayers, masses, consecration of sacramental elements were all ways - however superstitiously understood they may have been - of pastorally caring for his flock which a priest was expected to practice. For this care of souls he was ordained.

The position of the priest was strengthened as veneration for the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ led to the development of various tabus to protect it from being unworthily touched or handled,³⁸ and of a variety of ways to underline the holiness of the consecrated elements. As the sacrament³⁹ was carried to the sick by the priest it

was in procession, however meager.⁴⁰ It was not until the Council of Trent in 1562 that the celebration of mass in private houses, for example for the sick, was forbidden, but even before that it was not general practice, though found in some places.⁴¹

By the late middle ages there was generally no question that no one but a priest should give the host to a sick person. Thomas Aquinas had written that communion of the sick was no exception to the rule that the laity should not touch the consecrated elements, for the desire to commune was sufficient and the sacrament was not necessary to salvation. Cajetan was one of the very few who disagreed on the point of lay people touching the sacrament. He allowed them in plague to commune themselves with hosts left at a prepared place for them by a priest.⁴²

The phrase of Augustine, "Crede et manducasti", was offered as comfort for those who could not actually receive communion before death, for example, those whose condition made it impossible for them to swallow or to retain something in the stomach. The spiritual communion was considered adequate. Often the host would be held up to be seen by the sick person.⁴³

The sick or dying person was to confess his or her sins and receive absolution prior to the communion and before receiving extreme unction if no confession had as yet been made.⁴⁴ In the late middle ages various opinions about the meaning of confession and penance were to be found in the church, but it was at least agreed that confession was necessary before communion, in serious illness, or before doing something involving the risk of death. Difficulties could, of course, arise if one's own priest were not present or if no priest were available. To counter these it was agreed that in danger of death one was not bound to confess only to his or her own priest. One major work even allows confession to an excommunicate or heretical priest, so long as his errors were recognized. Some theologians considered it possible to confess to a lay person if there were no priest, but there were wide differences of opinion on whether this was advisable, let alone necessary, and whether the lay person could only give a blessing or whether this could be called absolution. At any rate, it certainly was not a sacramental act, and the effects were by no means incontrovertible.⁴⁵

The anointing of the sick person as an aid to health (cf. James 5.14-16 and Mark 6.13) had become by the later middle ages the final sacramental preparation for the afterlife, though the earlier meaning

was not entirely lost for some theologians.⁴⁶ The connection with forgiveness (James 5) was emphasized. The unction by the priest with chrism blessed by the bishop was believed to be a cleansing from sin, not necessary for salvation,⁴⁷ but a final service of the church for the faithful. Since it was believed to overcome the spiritual weakness which came from sin, it logically and dogmatically was not to be administered to children who had not reached the age of discernment and those not mentally competent. People who were unconscious, if one could assume they had desired the sacrament with the proper attitude, were anointed, though the opinion of no one less than Thomas Aquinas led in the other direction in this case. Because it had come to be understood as preparation for death, the oiling was to be undertaken only once in a particular illness. For a later threat of death from another illness it could be repeated.⁴⁸ The aspect of healing appears to have been actually, if not rhetorically, ignored. Luther in 1520 scornfully remarked:

Scarcely one in a thousand is restored to health, and when one is restored nobody believes that it came about through the sacrament, but through the working of nature or of medicine. Indeed to the sacrament they ascribe the opposite effect.⁴⁹

The Wittenberg reformer could, though, find one praiseworthy point in the way the medieval church had "distorted" the anointing of the sick into the "last" unction. Thanks to this, he wrote,

it has been abused and distorted least of all the sacraments by tyranny and greed. This one last mercy, to be sure, has been left to the dying - they may be anointed without charge, even without confession and communion.⁵⁰

This comment of a contemporary should perhaps be taken as a warning against underestimating the possible divergence between theory and practice, which is the harder of the two for a historian to grasp. Yet the issue of payment applies to all the sacraments, especially those reserved to the parish pastor. The money for such services supported the priest to a large extent, and he often could not do without such income.⁵¹ Such costs were, on the other hand, an additional burden on the poor. Almshouses and hospitals might support a priest to administer the sacraments to the inmates,⁵² but the poor outside these institutions must have sometimes had to do without sacraments that their richer neighbors could afford. The fraternities, which we shall discuss later,

were one means to remedy this. But the cause could have been a lack of parish priests as well as a lack of money.⁵³

After the anointing, death ideally would have been awaited with prayers or psalms said aloud by the dying, or for him or her if speech were impossible, and by the surrounding watchers. Realistically, the priest would most likely be gone from the bedside, if he had come. But others, relatives and friends, would usually have been there, even if unable to formulate prayers or recite psalms.⁵⁴ The dying person was given a candle and a crucifix to hold, if possible, or to look at.⁵⁵

4. The Dead and the Bereaved

The death bed and the bier were parts of one rite de passage.⁵⁶ This accompaniment of the dying through prayers, psalms, and actions, even in silence, was not to cease with death but to continue through the time up to burial, and beyond. The boundary between this life and the next was not felt to be a solid dividing wall, but was evidently experienced more as a veil. Those who had passed through it were hidden from sight, but this side was not thoroughly separated from the other.

When death had come, the bell was rung in the church tower to inform the other inhabitants. The corpse was washed, dressed, and laid out in the house or the church for the wake or vigil which was to continue until interment.⁵⁷ Just as prayers were, if possible, to accompany the preparation of the body and the wake, they were to be said as it was taken out of the house.⁵⁸ The priest came to collect the corpse at the house, or at the entrance to the village or the doors of the church or chapel if the home was too far away. Thus began the public event of the funeral.⁵⁹

The right to carry out burials was reserved to the pastor of the parish. The mortuarium, the customary offering in money, produce or goods, which technically was not fee for the burial but which functioned very much like one, was due to him. The choice of where one was to be buried was not limited by these points.⁶⁰ The mortuarium was a point of contention between pastors and monasteries for centuries.⁶¹

The requiem mass⁶² was held for the deceased with the corpse present in the church. Evidently the laity did not commune.⁶³ Between the mass

and the final "absolutions" of the deceased⁶⁴ might come a sermon, but that was unusual.⁶⁵ Throughout the rites were the common liturgical elements: antiphons, psalms, prayers and readings appropriate to the occasion, and of course the eucharistic sacrifice. Then in procession with cross and candles the body was conducted to the grave in the consecrated ground of the cemetery. There, with more prayers, the body was buried, according to Ruland facing east.⁶⁶

As has been said, the vernacular ars moriendi literature was intended in part to help those who died and those who stood by to conduct the ritual of passing from this life in such a way as to ensure as far as possible a good arrival in the next. The mass for the dead on the day of interment and the burial ceremonies were other ways of helping to achieve this. There were ~~other~~ modes for aiding souls. Adolph Franz writes that

whoever could do so established for his own peace of soul and that of his relatives masses or annual alms or bequests to poorhouses and hospitals. In the testamentary dispositions the "Selgeret", the arrangement for masses and alms, took the most prominent place.

While the theologians made the efficacy of the mass for the deceased dependent upon the decision of God and for that reason uncertain, it was believed among the people that the mass brought certain help to the souls in purgatory. They expected that particularly of specific masses which supposedly were endowed with special privileges in this direction.⁶⁷

For example, it was believed that certain liberation for the poor souls in purgatory could be brought about by the saying of certain masses in a prescribed order.⁶⁸ Besides the requiem mass on the day of the burial, masses were customary on the third, seventh, and thirtieth days after interment and on the anniversary of death. A daily reading of the mass for the first thirty days was also known.⁶⁹

All of these masses cost something, it should be remembered, so obviously social and financial differences were reflected in the degree to which a family, or the deceased through the will, could provide for such post-mortem care of souls. However, individuals and families were not totally isolated, at least in places where enough other people lived to take part in organized confraternities.⁷⁰ These sodalities had not merely social or vocational purposes; they were "the creative loci of lay religious activity for centuries."⁷¹

In Hamburg in the century before the Lutheran reformation, for example, there were more than a hundred brotherhoods and sisterhoods, created by various circles of people (with some people belonging to more than one confraternity)- those of a particular vocation, venerated of a particular saint, followers of a particular spiritual leader, neighbors, friends. Even the servants and the poor could find in this way support which included masses for dead members, accompaniment to the grave, help with costs of burial and in other occasions of need.⁷² Natalie Zemon Davis points out that because they were "local and particularistic in character, devotion and imagery, they could not engage and unite all city people."⁷³ This was, on the other hand, precisely their strength: they gave specific and particular help to their members as they needed it, not least at times of death.

Membership in a functioning confraternity must also have given some assurance that after one's death certain basics would be attended to. There was necessarily some uncertainty as to how much one could rely on those left behind to spend their wealth on one out of sight. That arrangements for the souls of the departed were good works and brought merit to those who provided them was certainly an encouragement. So was the "notion of society as a community uniting the dead and the living."⁷⁴ Yet the repeated warning of late medieval devotional literature that nothing was certain, and that immediate repentance and betterment were preferable to waiting, referred not only to the uncertainty of the hour and mode of death and the chances of deathbed repentance.⁷⁵

Thomas à Kempis is quite explicit in his chapter on death in the Imitation of Christ:

Happy and wise is he who endeavours to be during his life as he wishes to be found at his death.... While you enjoy health, you can do much good; but when sickness comes, little can be done....

Do not rely on friends and neighbours, and do not delay the salvation of your soul to some future date, for men will forget you sooner than you think. It is better to make timely provision and to acquire merit in this life, than to depend on the help of others. And if you have no care for your own soul, who will have care for you in time to come?...

Who will remember you when you are dead? Who will pray for you? Act now, dear soul; do all you can; for you know neither the hour of your death, nor your state after death. While you have time, gather the riches of everlasting life. 76

5. Medieval Pastoral Reform

The Catholic church, of course, had produced reformers before those now referred to as Protestant reformers (and often just as "the Reformers"). Reputable Catholic critics of the abuses of the practice of the cure of souls in their church were numerous. This issue of reform loomed so large in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that consideration of pastoral care could not be undertaken in a purely theoretical way, untouched and unmoved by the scandals of the actual situation. This state of affairs meant also that thinking on the cure of souls was so pressed by the immediate evils connected with the pastoral ministry, such as absenteeism, simony, and clerical immorality and illiteracy, that there was on the part of most reformers a tendency to go no further than immediate pragmatic solutions. Since the moral issues seemed self-evident, they tended to stop before asking deep and searching questions about the clergy-lay relationship or the purposes of the sacraments.⁷⁷ Generally speaking, pastoral care was seen as a moral problem, not a theological one, into the first decades of the sixteenth century. Theology could remain in the background, though there was nothing like an absolute uniformity of opinion among the Catholics, because agreement on the fundamentals of the faith was not yet threatened on a major scale. When it was, reform efforts within the Roman church had to take on new dimensions.

Conceived of in basically the same way that it had been throughout the middle ages, pastoral care could be judged by the fourteenth- or fifteenth-century reformer's eye fairly readily. His ideals usually rested on conceptions of the purpose of the church and the place of the clergy which were by no means novel. Nor was anyone claiming originality. They believed that the basic movement toward proper pastoral care meant a movement toward the virtues of the past.

For example, in the movements of reform of the religious Orders the first step was considered to be a return to proper observance of the rule of each Order, as the basis of both personal and communal reform.⁷⁸ For the secular clergy there were those who called for the observance of the requirements of canon law as they already stood. There were also other sources, older sources, of guidance in the cure of souls.

The study of the Fathers conjured up a lively picture of the ancient Church. It became the standard by which existing conditions were assessed.... Bishops were urged to model their conduct on the rules laid down in the Pastoral Epistles and on the pastoral work of the Fathers as revealed in their homilies and their correspondence.... Together with St Gregory's Regula pastoralis, a popular work throughout the Middle Ages, and St Ambrose's De Officiis, St John Chrysostom's work on the priesthood and St Gregory Nazianzen's Apologia were put before the clergy as so many mirrors of the virtues of their state.⁷⁹

The basic view of their task as pastors remained that which it had been for centuries, "that of guiding troubled people into Christian belief, in the Christian cultus, and Christian morality."⁸⁰ Knowledge and practice of Christian morality was important because of the meritoriousness of good works and of the part they played in the achievement of the crown of life. The cult provided the means of grace which enabled one to be forgiven for works which were less than good, which gave one the possibility of pleasing God, and which strengthened one for the life through which one unfortunately had to pass on the way to the afterlife. The laity were often very much concerned with salvation, but the vigor of their demands on the church was not reflected by most of the clergy. The traditional role of leadership of the latter "was still being claimed and was scarcely disputed anywhere; but the clergy were hardly capable of fulfilling this role. With their benefice-oriented mentality they remained essentially feudal."⁸¹

All of the problems and abuses were so interrelated that improvement in one area might well mean further abuse in another. The parish clergy might have been ill-fitted to preach. Yet if a better-equipped, more popular friar entered a parish his freedom from episcopal and local control could disturb the position of the local pastor, for example as an attractive alternative confessor, or upset the reform programme the bishop was trying to push through.

Many of the Catholic reformers shared three ideals.⁸² First, the episcopate was the lynchpin of their reform programmes. Secondly, those plans did not challenge the sacramental structure, but used it. Finally, befitting the moral impulses of the reformers, the exemplary character of the priest's life was emphasized.

The aim of the cure of souls was clear enough, and the basic ideals showed broad agreement. The context in which they had to be put into effect, however, either distorted them or shattered them with terrifying regularity. Rather than go the way of the Roman reformers, the Protestants, who shared many ideals with their predecessors, finally accepted that their reform ideas could not be actualized in the context of the Roman doctrinal and hierarchical systems. Those with power in the church did not want to change those systems as drastically as the Protestants demanded. They organized their own followers in alternative church structures.

II. CONSEQUENCES OF PROTESTANT THINKING

FOR THE CARE OF SOULS

The centuries of Catholic tradition are not just an introduction to Protestantism which can, with the appearance of the latter, fade from sight and memory. These reformers had learned their craft in that tradition and worked still with materials and designs from it. They knew themselves to be heirs of the Catholic past, of both acceptable and unacceptable aspects. Nor could they pretend that the people whom they tried to reach through their preaching and teaching lived in a vacuum. Furthermore cities and territories were not reformed overnight. Protestants lived for years, often for decades, with those who were loyal to Rome.

Therefore many customs, habits, attitudes and expectations continued, and these might support or limit the reformers. It is actually astonishing how much of the theology and forms of piety they were evidently able to change, but such success rarely came easily. These changes were not just due to their powers of persuasion and example, or to the impressiveness of their programme. If we concentrate in this next part on Protestant thinking, that is not meant as a denial of the role of social, economic, or other factors. It is a contribution of the ecclesiastical historian.

Yet before one can begin to tally the successes and failures one must know the aspirations. It is essential to consider the reformers' theologies and their opinions on the practice of the pastoral ministry.

Now if it happens that a person advances toward death, as soon as the nuns notice this they take him and lay him alone, set a crucifix at his feet with a burning wax candle. If the priest (Pfaffe) now comes and sees such preparations of the sick man, he applies the last oiling to him, as I then once saw this smearing business (Schmiererei) done to one who cried out the whole time with staring eyes: "Oh, Hell, Hell!" And the poor person had no other comfort than that he was smeared a bit.¹

Chapter 3: REAPPRAISAL OF THE SACRAMENTAL SYSTEM*

According to the dogma of the Roman church, the best way to assist souls along the path to salvation was through the sacraments of the church. Thus the shaking of that sacramental system by the Protestants undermined the hitherto common assumptions about the care of souls. The large majority of these reformers did not reject all sacraments across the board. They had specific points of criticism for each of the seven, those they totally refused to accept and those acceptable after reformation of theory and of administration. A review of these criticisms, with special attention to the points especially relevant to our themes, will clarify the basis for the pastoral ministry of the Protestants.

In accord with their fundamental principle these reformers took the Bible as their testing instrument in deciding which of the seven sacraments they would accept. Where they could not find divine institution of an act they refused to use the term "sacrament".² For Zwingli a sacrament was a sign for the church of the initiation, commitment, and confession of the believer,³ but for Luther and Calvin there was a divine promise "for us" in the institution of the sacraments. Calvin required that the divine command be directed not at the apostles and the early church alone.⁴ For Luther there had to be a promise of forgiveness of sins attached to the visible sign given in the institution of a sacrament. This sign was for him, however, not an "effective sign" as for the Roman Catholics. A sacrament required faith to be effective.⁵ Faith was equally necessary in Calvin's eyes, and this was as for Luther the faith of the receiver of the sacrament, not of the minister.⁶ While

*The notes for this chapter begin on page 285.

Luther said that the sacraments nourish faith,⁷ Zwingli believed that a person knows if he or she has faith, and that it is rather the prerequisite for participation in the sacraments. The sacraments from this point of view do not function as and are not needed as reassurance for one's faith.⁸ For the Lutheran and Calvinist understandings on the other hand, especially for the former, the elements of reassurance, consolation, and the strengthening of faith were central expressions for the effects of the sacraments.⁹ It is clear that the positive definitions of what the sacraments were or meant differed considerably among the Protestants. It is not necessary for us to discuss them here, for the aspects relevant to our purposes will emerge in the following sections on the individual sacraments.

1. Baptism

There are certainly grounds for the belief that Protestants are and have ever been remarkably good at disagreeing - with one another were no others at hand. While among the sacraments one thinks perhaps first of the eucharist in this connection, there is also a broad range of opinion on the subject of baptism among those criticizing, with much common ground, Roman practice and theology. Thus the fire of the Protestants upon the Roman position came from various angles, and was sometimes directed upon their own forces.

Some of those on what has come to be called the "left wing of the Reformation"¹⁰ launched an attack upon the baptism of infants, whether practiced as in Rome or Paris or Trier or as in Wittenberg, Strasbourg, or Zurich. Their central tenets were that the sign of baptism expressed a confession of faith and that fellowship in the church, marked by baptism, was a matter of choice. Hence their desire to baptize only those capable of choosing, which excluded infants and very small children. Coupled with this was the argument that the New Testament provided no proof of the baptism of infants.¹¹ Rebaptism, or baptism of those who previously had been recipients of the sacrament in the Roman or Protestant churches because of a belief that the earlier act was not valid, was the ground adduced for persecution.

While Zwingli was sensitive to some of the charges pressed against the practice of child baptism, he could not accept a voluntary church membership or the existence of conventicles side-by-side with a Volkskirche, or church encompassing all Christian members of a society. Zurich was to be the model of a theocratically-ruled congruence of church and society.¹²

By rejecting the consequences of believers' baptism Zwingli was set the task of refuting the Anabaptists. In this labor he was joined by Luther, Bucer, Calvin and many others. The Swiss and south German positions, which challenged more loudly and radically than Luther's the recognition of the church's tradition as a basis for argument alongside the canonical writings, made the defense of infant baptism particularly difficult. A brief but good summary of the arguments is presented by François Wendel;¹³ it is not necessary to bring them here in full.

In defending baptism of young children these reformers were on the one hand defending an inclusive view of society and church against the exclusive view of the Anabaptists and radical reformers. Luther and Calvin were also guarding an understanding of baptism as an aid to faith, a source of comfort. In this position Zwingli did not join them, for he insisted that baptism is just an act of initiation and of commitment to living a new life.¹⁴ According to Niebergall, for Bucer, too, "baptism did not have the pastoral (seelsorgerliche) significance (as a ground for consolation) as for example for Luther."¹⁵ However, Bucer held that the sacrament was an act of forgiveness, cleansing, regeneration, renewal, and incorporation in Christ, and thereby distanced himself from Zwingli's interpretation.¹⁶

Luther and Calvin linked repentance with the sacrament, yet not as the Anabaptists did, in demanding repentance prior to baptism. They viewed penitence as a return to baptism and to the promise given there by God, not the promise made by the recipient of the sacrament. Calvin called for the realization

that at whatever time we are baptized, we are once for all washed and purged for our whole life. Therefore, as often as we fall away, we ought to recall the memory of our baptism and fortify our mind with it, that we may always be sure and confident of the forgiveness of sins.¹⁷

Wendel points out that Calvin here was inspired by Luther,¹⁸ who wrote in De captivitate Babylonica:

For just as the truth of this divine promise, once pronounced over us, continues until death, so our faith in it ought never to cease, but to be nourished and strengthened until death by the continual remembrance of this promise made to us in baptism. Therefore, when we rise from our sins or repent, we are merely returning to the power and the faith of baptism from which we fell, and finding our way back to the promise then made to us, which we deserted when we sinned....

It will therefore be no small gain to a penitent to remember above all his baptism....His heart will find wonderful comfort and will be encouraged to hope for mercy when he considers that the promise which God made to him, which cannot possibly lie, is still unbroken and unchanged, and indeed, cannot be changed by sins....In (this truth of God) the penitent has a shield against all assaults of the scornful enemy, an answer to the sins that disturb his conscience, an antidote for the dread of death and judgement, and a comfort in every temptation - namely, this one truth - when he says: 'God is faithful in his promises, and I received his sign in baptism....' 19

The ground for such an emphasis lies in the belief that the baptized are incorporated in Christ and made partakers of his death and resurrection, as Calvin insisted,²⁰ or, in Luther's words, "conformed to the death and resurrection of Christ, with whom he dies and rises again through baptism."²¹ They thought here, of course, of Romans 6.4f. and interpreted it quite differently from Zwingli. He felt that Paul was simply clearly teaching that those committed to Christ must lead a new life. Baptism reminds one of the death and burial of Jesus, and then of his resurrection:

As Christ rose and never dies, so we should also, when we are buried in baptism, have died to the world and the earlier life. After we are pulled out, however, we should begin a new life, that is, one worthy of Christ.²²

Though they had nothing against the new life and less sinning, Luther and Calvin could not believe that a person could lead a life "worthy of Christ." Their sense of the sinfulness of the human race was too intensive. Therefore only through a conformity or incorporation with Christ could one partake in justification, not by imitation, even faithful imitation.

Just as the Protestants argued among themselves about the correct understanding of faith and its relation to baptism, the same issue divided them from the Catholics, whom they accused of underestimating faith when dealing with the sacraments, and of trusting not in Christ but in the act of baptism or in the water.²³ The rejection of ceremonies and elements connected with baptism in the Roman liturgy (chrism, candle, salt, exorcism, etc.,)²⁴ was a secondary matter, and indeed some of them were preserved in some Lutheran churches. In the discussion about baptism far more reforming ink was spent on the issues within the Protestant camp than on the differences with Rome. Those differences arose mainly from fundamental disagreement as to what a sacrament was and meant, and that fight was carried on more effectively in the fields where Catholic sacraments were rejected and in the eucharistic contest.

2. Confirmation

"Non igitur hac mersione, non hoc haustu, non illa deunctione adfertur spiritus gratia", wrote Zwingli in his Fidei Ratio - "therefore the spirit of grace is conveyed not by this immersion, not by this drinking, not by that anointing; for if it were so, it would be known how, where, whereby and in which the spirit is conducted."²⁵ Since the spirit cannot be bound, it cannot be given through sacraments which are administered by people, according to Zwingli's understanding of the sacraments. The unction of which he wrote here is according to the editors of Zwingli in the Corpus Reformatorum, extreme unction.²⁶ However, it could also be the anointing of the person brought for baptism, or even more likely, that of the confirmand. For precisely the Roman Catholic sacrament of confirmation, the episcopal anointing of children with chrism and signing them with the cross, was interpreted as the gift of the Holy Spirit.²⁷

The Swiss and German reformers unanimously rejected the idea of a sacrament of confirmation which was said to complete baptism and to be necessary in addition to the first sacrament. This to them was an unacceptable derogation of the sacrament of rebirth.²⁸ Further, they could not find any biblical basis, which for them was the sine qua non for a sacrament; in their opinion the proof-text in Acts 8.14-17²⁹ gave no evidence of divine institution, command or promise.³⁰

They were not at first interested in a substitute ceremony. Luther, not too surprisingly, could allow that confirmation be continued so long as there was a proper understanding of it, particularly recognition that it was no sacrament, and that its administration was no longer reserved to the bishop.³¹ Calvin could approve of a laying on of hands, which is reported in the Acts of the Apostles and which had been part of the practice in the early church out of which confirmation developed. Yet he could recognize it only as a blessing and only if there ~~were~~ no expectation of an effect as in the time of the apostles.³²

The close links between confirmation and baptism, both theologically (cf. Matthew 28.19f.) and through the development of the former as a ceremony independent of the latter, account for the aspect of confirmation most important for the Protestant reformers: instruction. Pre-baptismal instruction was naturally impossible when infant baptism was practiced. Therefore the deficit remained until the child was taught of the faith later in life. The general catechetical instruction of young people was poor in the middle ages, though priests, parents and godparents were supposedly responsible for instilling a knowledge of the basics, i.e., at least the Lord's Prayer, the Commandments, and the Apostles' Creed.³³ The reformation did not immediately better the situation, as Luther's complaints in the introduction to his Small Catechism (1529) testify,³⁴ but the reformers had a strong interest in guidance for children and education of adults. One means was the sermon, another was the catechism. A third, which will be discussed separately in this chapter, was confession or the examination before communion.³⁵

When Luther preached to his Wittenberg congregation about "the chief things which concern a Christian", which "everyone must himself know and be armed with" as preparation for death,³⁶ he did not simply repeat the texts of the Creed, Commandments, and Prayer. But what he preached is also to be found in the catechism, in the explanations to the various parts. The aim of learning the catechism was not the ability to repeat various formulas but an understanding of their meaning for Christian life and death.

The Anabaptists could demand an understanding of the fundamentals of faith before baptism. Because Zwingli found that he could not abandon child baptism, he recommended and saw practiced in Zurich instruction of already-baptized children in the basics of the Christian faith and life.

This was held twice in the year, around Easter and in late autumn, for all the youth. He did not see that confirmation had anything to do with "a remembrance of the coming or giving of the Holy Spirit."³⁷

Calvin, too, introduced in Geneva a recurring instruction and examination. The children were to be questioned publicly prior to the quarterly communion Sundays.

No one may come to holy communion who has not confessed his faith.... The children may not come to communion until it is clear that they have, in the judgement of the minister, progressed far enough in the main context of the faith. ³⁸

In the Institutes he had recommended that when a child reached the age of ten an examination should take place, when the child would be asked about the main points of the faith, introduced to the parish, and thereby make a confession of faith. A catechism, he wrote, should be composed as a basis for such a practice. Calvin expected from this "greater harmony in faith" among Christians, that the ignorance of many people would be decreased and they "would not let themselves be so unthinkingly caught up by new and alien teachings, and finally all would equally have an orderly instruction in Christian teaching."³⁹

The aspect of instruction thus contained that of discipline as well. This was not only found in the Swiss churches. For Lutherans the questioning was rather in the context of confession or the pre-communion check-up (Verhör). The Confessio Augustana states:

The custom has been retained among us of not administering the sacrament to those who have not previously been examined and absolved. At the same time the people are carefully instructed concerning the consolation of the Word of absolution so that they may esteem absolution as a great and precious thing.⁴⁰

It is characteristic that the various strands of the issue of confirmation - necessary post-baptismal instruction, rite of initiation into the communion fellowship, discipline within the community of believers - were woven together by Martin Bucer. He was a reformer open to influence from so many different sources, and was passionately interested in the practical expression of the Christian faith in the life of the church. Evidently drawing on suggestions made by Erasmus for reform of the sacrament of confirmation⁴¹ and on a reformed confirmation used by the Bohemian Brethren,⁴² convinced of the need for church discipline and aware of the

Anabaptist emphasis on it,⁴³ Bucer formed what may really be termed an alternative ritual to the Roman Catholic sacrament. Perhaps he thought about Caspar Schwenkfeld's point from the 1533 debates in Strasbourg:

If you won't agree to eliminate Infant Baptism, at least there should be set up a ceremony whereby the baptized children, when they have reached the right age, will be dedicated to Christianity.⁴⁴

In Strasbourg his concept was not accepted, but in the Ziegenhain Zuchtordnung (Order of Discipline) and the Church Order of Kassel, both for Hessen and from the year 1539, it is ordered that the previously instructed children are to be questioned in front of the parish, confess their faith, then be confirmed by the laying on of hands. In this way they were to be granted admission to communion and were considered to be within the disciplinary structure of the church.⁴⁵

Whether with an alternative ritual or just through instruction in the sermon and catechism sessions, the Protestant pastor was given by the Protestant reformers an opportunity for instructing his parishioners which had not been part of the image of the usual priest. How effectively he carried this out is a question for another study, but the answer does not essentially affect the hope that the minister would be both preacher and teacher for his flock. A fundamental motivation on the part of the reformers was a concern that the eucharist would be received worthily and that the understanding of the sacraments was sufficient to bring some gain in terms of admonition or consolation to those who received them.

3. The Mass

Aside from the theological controversies surrounding the doctrine of the eucharist, which left among Protestants a residue of an astounding bitterness and longlasting alienation, the leaders of the reformation in southern Germany and Switzerland especially had a two-fold concern with regard to their followers and the Lord's Supper. On the one hand they attacked the lack of participation of the laity in the Catholic mass, resulting from the false understanding of the sacrament and expressed in infrequent communion, private masses, and the restriction of the communion wine to the priesthood. On the other hand, after pulling the eucharist

down from its mystery-shrouded pedestal, they were concerned about teaching a properly respectful estimation of the sacrament and about clarifying the meaning of "worthy" and "unworthy" reception of the elements. While consideration of these interests could easily lead directly into the thick of the dogmatic arguments, we shall concentrate here on the aspects which particularly affect the care of souls.⁴⁶

Infrequent communion on the part of the laity in the medieval church can be traced to a number of factors, including the necessity of confession prior to receiving the sacrament and the veneration of the sacramental bread and wine with concomitant fear of sacrilege.⁴⁷ Yet certainly at the root of all lack of motivation in the laypeople was the absence of a belief that the benefits of the mass could only be received through actual reception of the consecrated bread. It was felt to be enough to look at the elevated host and chalice, to pay for masses to be said for oneself and others, whether present or not (and whether living or not). "Participation" did not require presence at a mass, let alone communion.⁴⁸ A requirement of annual communion (and confession) did not alter such a definition of participation.

With the argument that the institution of the sacrament by Christ with the words "Take, eat" and "Drink of it, all of you" (Matt. 26.26-27; cf. Mark 14.22-24, Luke 22.17-19) contradicted a practice where the laity did not commune or, if they did, only received the bread, the Protestant reformers began to dismantle the Roman sacrament. Their tenets of fidelity to the Bible and the priesthood of all believers were used to attack the Catholic mass. Luther claimed, against the privileges of his own rank, that "the sacrament does not belong to the priests but to all men."⁴⁹ For Melancthon the fundamental flaw in the mass lay in the division of Christians into priests and laity and the reservation of the eucharist

to a particular class of people, the priests.... For Satan has discovered that priests ought to sacrifice in place of the people, that Masses can be sold publicly, and other things of this kind. The use of the Mass would not have perished if the conditions of life had not been rent into those of priests and laymen.⁵⁰

As did Luther, Johannes Brenz, reformer of Schwäbisch Hall and Württemberg, passed through various stages in the development of his doctrinal position on the eucharist. This took him, according to Martin Brecht, from a place near Oecolampadius and the reformers of upper Germany to one

clearly among the Lutherans. His critique of the Roman mass, however, stayed largely constant. It was based on his understanding of Christ's institution of the sacrament.⁵¹ According to Brenz, as for the other Protestants, there is no sacrifice performed by the priest and no forgiveness of sins due to a sacrifice in the mass. Rather, the sacrifice of Christ is proclaimed in the eucharist as the single forgiving sacrifice, and only faith in this is necessary.⁵² Therefore the mass as practiced by the Catholics was for him idolatry. Furthermore, what was meant for the community of the church had been turned into the private mass where no one but the priest need be present.⁵³

This view of the eucharist as a community sacrament was emphasized by the reformers of upper Germany and Switzerland, whereas though it can be found in Luther's earlier writings it gradually was overshadowed for him by other emphases.⁵⁴ In England Bucer criticized the continuing tendency to celebrate communion as earlier the Roman mass. "Hardly anyone," he complained to Edward VI in De regno Christi, "takes the sacrament of the Lord's Table, except the one sacrificing priest or the sacristan, and he unwillingly."⁵⁵ Over against this he set the institution of the sacrament and the observance of the early church, where in the Lord

they were one bread and one body, likewise all those present at the Holy Supper should share in that one bread and cup of eternal salvation, the body and blood of the Lord commended and offered to the faithful through these sacraments.⁵⁶

Both sacraments, in Bucer's opinion, "should not be presented except when the whole church or the greater part of it is gathered together and irreligious and unworthy persons removed."⁵⁷

The symbolism of I Corinthians 10.17 ("Because there is one loaf, we who are many are one body, for we all partake of the same loaf.") was also used by Zwingli. For him the necessity of the presence of the community emerged naturally from his conception of the sacrament as an act of remembrance, proclamation, confession and fellowship.⁵⁸ This presence was not mere physical presence, but direct participation. This is clear in Zwingli's case, since for him the sacrament was an act of the faithful. Calvin, though, with another understanding of the Supper, also demanded such participation. In attacking private masses in the Institutes he focussed on the fact that the priest did not distribute the elements but took them alone. The command of Christ, Calvin reminded his readers, consisted in "the breaking of bread, which is the communion of body and blood (I Cor. 10.16). When, therefore, one person receives it without sharing,

what similarity is there?" There the eucharist was falsified, a godless act. Furthermore,

after that custom of offering without communion once crept in, they gradually began to make innumerable masses in every corner of the churches, and to drag the people hither and thither, when they should have come together in one assembly to recognize the mystery of their own unity. ⁵⁹

This emphasis on the communal aspect of the eucharist affected directly these reformers' attitudes to communion of those confined to their houses, as we shall see.

The recitation of the words of institution so that the congregation could not understand them was a further abuse which was attacked as not merely as a superficial matter. Luther believed that in the words of Christ in the institution of the eucharist, "and in that word alone, reside the power, the nature, and the whole substance of the mass." Thus he taught that "we should do nothing with greater zeal... than to set before our eyes, meditate upon, and ponder these words, these promises of Christ - for they truly constitute the mass itself." Hence he deplored "that nowadays they take every precaution that no layman should hear these words of Christ.... So mad are we priests that we arrogate to ourselves alone the so-called words of consecration, to be said secretly."⁶⁰ Simply holding worship services in the vernacular did not entirely solve the problem. The words of institution gained an aspect of importance that they had not had before. They were a word of promise. This lay behind Bucer's complaint in De regno Christi which at first may seem somewhat petty, that the worship is turned

into papistic abuse when they deliberately recite the service of the sacrifice of Christ, in the vernacular language, indeed, but indistinctly and with words run together, so that they cannot be understood, and the people altogether refuse to listen to them with an effort to understand.⁶¹

The medieval eucharist had been such a magnet for superstitious beliefs and practices that it is not surprising that old attitudes and customs did not disappear quickly in Protestant areas. Furthermore, if it often required an "effort to understand" in order to grasp the distinction between faith and superstition, between piety and godlessness, then the demand for the effort could founder on a lack of interest, on a lack of ability, or on a lack of desire.

An acceptable, balanced position between throwing off the old and trying out the new was not immediately established, but it was one of the concerns of the reformers later termed "magisterial". Bucer wrote, looking back on their teaching about the abuses of the mass and its results:

We now observe how successfully Satan has deflected and diverted our teaching and exhortation, directed only against an empty confidence in the external ministry of the word and sacraments, and still daily deflects and diverts them, so that great numbers of people are despising and forsaking the entire ministry of the Church, the word and sacraments, the comfort of absolution, the prayers, in fact, the whole community of the Church. They adduce and advance their imagined receiving by faith in such a fashion that not only when they are ill, at home, but even when fit and well, at Church, they never trouble themselves about the sacraments. ⁶²

In a letter to Johannes Zwick in Constance in January 1530 Oecolampadius resignedly lamented the situation:

We know already from the apostles that not everyone has faith. Why do we wonder when now so many construct new idols in their hearts and defend these inventions? Hence the fanatic Anabaptists and the most stubborn opponents of symbols. Hence the world is full of hypocrites, whose hardness of heart only the Spirit of God will be able to soften. Hence also the loveless zeal and the spiritual arrogance which is so quick to damn others, so that, if they were master of things, naturally, Christ's judgement seat would be superfluous. Scarcely is the abomination of the sacrifice of the mass done away with in our churches by the mercy of God, when now the new saints urge as well the abolition of the sacraments instituted by Christ himself. The devil is responsible for this! There is no lack of those who, through their herculean, obscure and cunning writings oppose the sacraments, yes, even the charity of the church,... and who, under the appearance of fighting the Anabaptists, throw baptism with the eucharist overboard! A bandage worse than the wound itself! ⁶³

The problem was to avoid new abuses in the agitated atmosphere created by the attacks on the abuses of the mass. Zwingli, for example, on the one hand called the veneration of the host in the belief that a look at the consecrated bread brought salvation "madness". Yet he quickly added that he was "of the opinion that one should handle in the church this bread with respect ... (I Cor. 14)."⁶⁴ If anyone in Zurich thought, now that confession was no longer a prerequisite for communion, that he could simply drift into the church, commune, and blithely go his way afterwards,

he would have met with a firm negation from Zwingli. For in the view of the leader of the Zurich church, whoever comes to the Lord's Supper

shows that he wants to be a member of one body, to be one bread.... Whoever socializes with the Christians when they proclaim the death of the Lord, whoever eats the symbolic bread and flesh with them, he must afterwards naturally live according to the law of Christ....(This sacrament) witnesses before the congregation to our belonging to Christ. When we do not hold faithfully to this witness we should be thrown out of the community of the brethren, so that the Christian innocence can be better preserved.⁶⁵

Oecolampadius' lament about a tendency on the part of some to go further with their assault on the sacramental system than he could approve did not refer to all of the radical reformers. Many of the Anabaptists agreed far more with Zwingli, as they would also basically have accepted his views on the eucharist. Just as they retained baptism, they did not criticize the Lord's Supper per se; their biblicism was too strong for that. However, they did have two areas where their reform went beyond that of the upper German and Swiss territorial churches: in challenging the special office of the minister as accepted by the magisterial reformers and in the demand that the participants in the worship service be true believers, both the congregation and the leader who was "to lift up the bread when it is to be broken."⁶⁶ Among the Anabaptists "the moral and ethical character of both celebrant and partaker were strenuously probed," writes Littell. "And many who were called into court for abstaining from the communion services of the church of the land said that they could not attend because they were not worthy."⁶⁷

The issue of the worthiness of the minister had long been settled for the Catholic church, and the Lutheran and Reformed churches took over the view that the validity of the communion was not dependent upon the state of the character or soul of the celebrant. The issue of the worthiness of the recipient of the sacrament was not thereby answered. This was raised by Paul in I Corinthians 11.27-29 ("Whoever, therefore, eats the bread or drinks the cup of the Lord in an unworthy manner will be guilty of profaning the body and blood of the Lord..."), whereas the purity of the priest was not mentioned.

The Anabaptists "defined unworthiness in ethical and moral terms."⁶⁸ Martin Bucer, on the other hand, whose ethical interest also was very strong, condemned absence from the communion table because of a feeling of unworthiness as "superstition". Rather, he felt, the sole qualification

for communion is faith that one is saved by the death of Christ and the desire to be strengthened in that faith and in love. Every Christian has this, according to Bucer. Only those not believing this, who hypocritically pretend to be Christians when they are not and participate in the eucharist, are guilty of the body and blood of Christ.⁶⁹

Calvin agreed that the unworthy were the nonbelievers, who had no faith to be nurtured and strengthened by the eucharist, and all those who were not stirred to proclaim God's praise and to love one another.⁷⁰ This was, as for Bucer, a rejection both of the demands of the Roman church on communicants and of those of the Anabaptists. First, according to the Genevan reformer, there was no certainty in the Catholic method of making one worthy through contrition, confession, and satisfaction. How could one ever say that he has done all he can? The poor conscience was simply tortured by the demand for purification from sin as a condition of worthiness. No one can make themselves worthy, and only despair awaits those who try, for just as they try hardest to be worthy they are the most unworthy. It is instead precisely our lowliness and unworthiness that makes us worthy to commune. God demands only the worthiness that consists in the faith that everything is to be found in Christ and nothing in us.⁷¹

Calvin then went on to reject the view he obviously connected with the radical reformers, but perhaps with Zwingli as well who also understood communion as a confession and not a strengthening of faith. This view agreed with Calvin's in declaring that worthiness consists in faith and love. However, then it erred in demanding perfection of faith, a faith to which nothing could be added, and a love like Christ's. This, just as the papist definition of worthiness, would exclude everyone, wrote Calvin. We would all receive the sacrament unworthily if we went. Furthermore, if such a worthiness were possible, we would then not need the sacrament for it could give us nothing we did not already have. Rather, he wrote, the eucharist was instituted for the weak and infirm.⁷² Those who perceive their unworthiness are the ones worthy of the sacrament.

Thus where the Anabaptists would stay away from the communion table either because of their own imperfection or because of the absence of a discipline which sorted out the impure in the territorial churches,⁷³ Luther, Bucer, Calvin and reformers of like mind urged participation accompanied by the recognition of impurity and sinfulness. When they supported excommunication as part of an ecclesiastical discipline, as

Bucer in the quotation from De regno Christi above,⁷⁴ this was directed at the unrepentant sinners and aimed to reintegrate them in the community if possible. Both in their critique of the Roman Catholic mass and in their teaching concerning proper participation in the sacrament and measures needed to ensure it as far as they were able, they rejected an exclusive understanding of the sacrament. This they saw exemplified in both the papal and the radical positions.

The reformers' interpretations of the meaning of the eucharist were directly and concretely expressed in the practices they supported in regard to communion of the sick and dying.⁷⁵ Where the custom of such communion was maintained, issues such as the withholding of the sacrament from notorious and unrepentant sinners, or from people having a "superstitious" estimation of its effects, often had to be decided quickly and with the expectation that there would be no second chance for the recipient. Just how significant reception of the sacrament was really believed to be was then proclaimed in the language of practice.

4. Confession

Another component of the Catholic ceremonies at the sickbed or deathbed was the sacrament of penance. While a sacrament in itself, it also was a preparation for what might follow: the eucharist and extreme unction. It shared with those two more the function of cleansing one's past than that of strengthening one for the future.

Not limited of course to that situation, it served as the major single opportunity for counselling, teaching and examination in the relationship between priest and parishioner. Thomas Tentler points out that this sacrament was an instrument of control and of comfort. It "disciplined through guilt and consoled through the hope of forgiveness."⁷⁶ Though views differed in the late middle ages on how the sacrament worked, it was agreed that it was necessary on the grounds of rational, scriptural (i.e., divine), and ecclesiastical law, but also because it quite simply was required for forgiveness of sins. The power of the keys (cf. Matthew 16.18f. and 18.18) given to the church and its priests made them the mediators of the benefits of the passion of Christ.⁷⁷

Such an institution has social and psychological dimensions as well as theological and ecclesiastical ones.⁷⁸ The arguments of the Protestants indicate that they recognized this. They were not the first to be critical of the sacrament. Within the medieval church there was awareness of the dangers of auricular confession and of the demand for a complete confession as the condition for forgiveness. Many theologians tried, certainly not without some success, to work against scrupulosity and legalism.⁷⁹ Yet Stephen Ozment judges that

the further one moves from the balanced scholastic tract, and the closer one gets to the short vernacular Beichtspiegel for ordinary people, the more legalistic, fiscalized, and psychologically burdensome penitential practice appears.⁸⁰

One reaction to the abuses of the sacrament was to try to reform them. Theologians of the Roman church may have tried to keep penance participants from falling prey to the worst dangers, but they did not question the sacrament itself. The Protestants did not concentrate on the abuses; they attacked even the ideal practice that the Roman theologians offered.⁸¹ They argued that the sacrament of penance as taught and practiced by the Catholics hindered that which it claimed to achieve.

Even the Protestant reformer who could see the most positive points in the concept of private confession and absolution, Martin Luther, had no praise for the Roman Catholic sacrament.

In all their writing, teaching, and preaching, their sole concern has been, not to teach what is promised to Christians in these words (of Scripture: Matthew 16.19, 18.18, and John 20.23), or what they ought to believe, and what great consolation they might find in them, but only through what force and violence to extend their own tyranny far, wide, and deep.⁸²

Other Protestants agreed that authority, power, and force rather than freedom characterized the Catholic sacrament.⁸³

The attacks on obligatory oral confession came from the center of these reformers' theological thought. Therefore they sound much like a rehearsal of those tenets. Further, while the arguments have much in common, they also show characteristic dissimilarities. They agreed that to teach that confession in the Roman style was necessary for the Christian was to teach trust in something other than Christ. Only faith was necessary for salvation, and only faith led to forgiveness of sins. Thus works of satisfaction earned nothing and were to be rejected.⁸⁴ Luther

felt that the promise given in baptism was disparaged if some other aid and token of forgiveness than a return in faith to that divine promise was required. Melancton, Zwingli, and Calvin expressed their objections by declaring that the sufficiency of the work of Christ and the honor of God were mocked by the Catholic teaching.⁸⁵

The idea of a "complete" confession of one's sins would have been laughable if the matter were not so serious. For Luther, Melancton, and Calvin full confession was impossible because of the sinful nature of man.⁸⁶ The supposedly helpful distinctions, the casuistry, the delineation of "a kind of family tree of relationships and affinities even among sins"⁸⁷ merely confirmed the reformers' belief in the arbitrariness and wickedness of the papal party.

They felt that the priests should have no monopoly on consolation, and that it was senseless to speak as though they had one on forgiveness. Like other monopolies often did, this false one taught by the medieval church brought gains only for the clergy. Zwingli sketched his view of the development:

Once this control was established, it prepared the way for greed to the treasures of all people.... The more the keys cleansed, the more effective they became at cleansing, on the condition that one reached solidly into the money bag.⁸⁸

Not just the reasoning of the Catholics came under attack; the effects of the system on the faithful were also viewed by the reformers as catastrophic. We have mentioned that Luther deplored the belittling of baptism that he felt the Catholic sacrament implied. This to him was a destruction of the comforting fruit of the sacrament. The idea of satisfaction was for Melancton a "torture of consciences", a troubling of "fearful and truly pious consciences in a most miserable and cruel way."⁸⁹ Required confession, according to Zwingli, produced hypocrisy. To Calvin the striving after a complete confession or perfect desire for confession was a torture, forgiveness was made uncertain because dependent on men, and the alternatives effected by a forced confession were despair or hypocrisy.⁹⁰

All the reformers believed that the true meaning of grace, repentance, confession, faith, forgiveness, and renewal of life, in short, Christianity, was obscured by the Roman institution, that invention of men. It lacked the scriptural basis needed to term it a true sacrament. Yet they had not

only critical words for the idea of confession. For example, while agreeing that there was no divine command for auricular confession, Luther saw it as a good thing corrupted by Catholic theory and practice. He thought highly enough of the opportunity for consolation that its proper use offered to sometimes term that a sacrament, even though it did not strictly fit his definition. "The first abuse of this sacrament," he wrote in the Babylonian Captivity, "is that they have completely abolished it."⁹¹

Each reformer tried to salvage the parts he felt were most important from what he saw as the disastrous Catholic destruction of proper confession. Then each one sought to put them together in accord with his theology in a model for the church. This produced a multiplicity of forms and suggestions which Erich Roth documents.⁹² Here the simple lines of Lutheran and Reformed are inadequate, for within and across those there were again variants.

All agreed that a recognition of one's sins was required of the Christian. It could take place alone before God, or to another Christian, pastor or layperson, or in a common public confession, a form which was found in medieval worship services.⁹³ Formal absolution might follow in the latter cases.

Luther especially underlined the importance of absolution, where "we receive from our brother's lips the word of comfort spoken by God himself."⁹⁴ This is what he wished most to preserve in private confession. Bucer wrote in 1548 that in Strasbourg it was taught that

the Lord bestows and imparts to troubled consciences special comfort, and refreshment, and special strength to avoid sin in the future, by means of absolution.... Therefore the people are to value highly both private absolution and instruction, and willingly make use of them.⁹⁵

However, while confession and absolution serve the purpose of consolation as by Luther, Bucer did not give absolution the central significance the Wittenberg reformer did. Calvin's position was similar to Bucer's. If private confession could comfort more effectively than general confession and absolution, one should make use of it.⁹⁶ Auricular confession was not institutionalized in Geneva, but Calvin admitted that the Bible mentioned two types of private confession positively. One was represented in Matthew 5.23f. ("So if you are offering your gift at the altar, and there remember that your brother has something against you, leave your

gift there...and go; first be reconciled to your brother, and then come and offer your gift.") This was for settling disputes in the Christian community and to restore love. The other he found in James 5.16. Here Christians, wrote Calvin, are told that they may, voluntarily, go to one another for counsel, or to the ministers, who are especially fitted for this. Sins were to be mentioned only in so far as that was helpful. Furthermore, for someone who does not feel reassured by the general absolution in the worship service private absolution by the minister may be effective and fruitful.⁹⁷

All three reformers insisted that private confession was to be voluntary. This was the result of the experience with the Catholic sacrament. That experience was also reflected in Luther's Small Catechism. There, between his explanation of baptism and the eucharist, he included an explication and simple forms of confession. The emphasis is on consolation and the strengthening of faith. Quite expressly only those sins were to be confessed.

of which we have knowledge and which trouble us....If, however, anyone does not feel that his conscience is burdened by such (sins for which examples are given) or by greater sins, he should not worry, nor should he search for and invent other sins, for this would turn confession into torture.

A general confession, rather than one of specific sins, was also possible.⁹⁸

On the subject of private absolution Oecolampadius of Basel and Zwingli, Bullinger, and Ludwig Lavater of Zurich belonged to a school of thought which differed from that of Bucer and Calvin, and most certainly from that of the strict Lutherans. While these Swiss reformers recognized the benefits of mutual confession, mutual counsel, and prayer with another person in private, only public absolution was found in the Zurich church.⁹⁹ According to Zwingli the Christian knows inwardly that he or she is forgiven and has faith, which are intimately related. An external act like absolution, or for that matter baptism or communion, cannot make one certain or more certain.¹⁰⁰

In De regno Christi Bucer wrote of the difficulties of the kind of private confession he valued:

Nor, indeed, would everyone make such a secret confession in a salutary way; it is a matter of individual consciences, and not without danger for any minister involved. This confession can be a salutary remedy only to those consciences which need either private instruction or consolation and furthermore request this of the ministers of Christ. This can happen in a salutary way only with those guardians of the churches who are so endowed with the spirit of Christ that they can on this occasion better catechize the more ignorant in faith, and help those who experience less contrition to a definite acknowledgement of their sins. They will arouse a righteous sorrow in them on account of sins, or raise up greatly dejected spirits to a hope of divine mercy, and discover and demonstrate efficacious means for avoiding sins.¹⁰¹

Neither Bucer nor Calvin denied that a layperson was just as authorized to hear a confession if sought out by someone, and to absolve that person. Yet Roth further points out that Bucer showed an increasing tendency to view the clergy as the more qualified partners in confession. Calvin, too, considered those who had been called to the ministry of the word as especially suitable for such matters.¹⁰² This coincides with their view of private confession, which was not focussed primarily on absolution. Zwingli is here the opposite pole to Luther, and Bucer and Calvin lie between. It is logical that for Zwingli the piety and ability of the person to whom one went for the counselling he substituted for private confession were more important than for Luther's concept of a confessor.¹⁰³ On this point Bucer and Calvin were rather nearer the Zurich position.

As is especially evident in the passages we have quoted from Bucer, private confession or counsel was not only for consolation. It also served the purpose of instruction. This included teaching about the meaning of the faith, and admonition and guidance concerning living a Christian life, or as Bucer said, "avoiding sins." In this interest, too, they were rather nearer to Zwingli than to Luther. The view of the Zurich reformer was that those who needed something more than dialogue with God could seek advice ("Radtforschung"). In the fifty-second article of his Auslegen und Gründen der Schlussreden he gave his reinterpretation of confession. "Many people's consciences become burdened because of their sins, and people do not know how they are to be forgiven them." These persons should come to the priest, continued Zwingli, for medicine and help. That aid was instruction. The priest "teaches that (one should) seek refuge in God through Christ Jesus" who died for our sins. Whoever believed that was freed from his sins.¹⁰⁴ Instruction rather than

absolution was to bring comfort to troubled consciences, so that nothing threatened the tenet that only God forgave sins.

Yet the element of instruction was not absent from Lutheran confessional practices. Out of the thought that confession was especially appropriate prior to communion grew various modes of communion preparation with some form of confession. Veit Dietrich of Nürnberg recommended an examination of those planning to commune which was as much a catechetical session as a confession, though absolution followed. It aimed at making sure that those who planned to receive the Lord's Supper properly understood their actions and the meaning of the sacrament. He followed here the practice directed in the Order for Brandenburg-Nürnberg of 1533, where the "Beichtverhör" was also part of preparation for communion.¹⁰⁵

The history of confession in Württemberg allows one to trace the movement of this southern German duchy toward Lutheranism. In 1536 confession was abolished. As preparation for the eucharist only a sermon was held the day before. A special admonition to those who planned to commune the next day followed, and an offer to counsel individually anyone who wished to come.¹⁰⁶ The 1553/59 Orders, in accord with the Württemberg Confession of Brenz, declared that the preaching of the gospel was absolution for those who accepted it in faith. Yet private absolution was also defended. Pastors were to offer their services as confessors.

And especially when they want to hold the Lord's Supper, they should admonish the church that each person planning to receive the Lord's Supper show himself on the evening before and confess his regret and sorrow about his sins. (He is) also to show his desire of absolution or forgiveness of sins, and his intention to refrain from sinning and henceforth to live in Christian obedience. (This is) so that no one received the Lord's Supper to his own damnation and to the scandal of the church.¹⁰⁷

This private confession was not voluntary, but was a condition for participation in communion.¹⁰⁸ However, private absolution was only for those who particularly needed it. The others heard by the minister privately after the sermon in the preparation service waited until the pastor spoke the general absolution to all in the church. This followed the general public confession which was read to the congregation after the individual confessions were finished. A public confession and absolution were used again the next day in the communion service.¹⁰⁹ In 1582 private absolution as a general practice was introduced in Württemberg,

and the public confession and absolution were found only in the communion liturgy, not in the preparatory service.¹¹⁰

Forms for general public confession and absolution had been part of medieval liturgies. They were not considered to be sacramental, which is perhaps one reason why they were carried over into many German and Swiss Protestant liturgies, revised to be acceptable to reformed sensibilities.¹¹¹ Württemberg and Nürnberg as well as Strasbourg, Basel, Zurich and many other places used the public confession, Offene Beichte, or Offene Schuld. Calvin mentioned it as he spoke of confession in the Institutes, where he also recommended special occasions for confession and fasting: in times of plague, war, drought, and so forth.¹¹²

The Beichtverhör or communion examination was also not a purely Lutheran practice. The Church Order of Kassel from 1539, which one can really best term "Bucerian", also calls for such a hearing on the day before a communion. Everyone who planned to commune were to gather for "song, prayer, and exhortation to receive the holy sacrament in the right faith." Each was to present himself or herself to the minister, "so that each may experience instruction, admonition, comfort and absolution" as needed.¹¹³

Calvin reported to Farel in 1540 on the practice he followed in his French congregation in Strasbourg. Those who wished to commune were to come to him beforehand. His aim was that

those still uneducated and lacking knowledge in religion should be better instructed; those needing a particular admonition should hear it; finally, whoever, for example, is tortured by some uneasiness of his conscience should receive consolation.¹¹⁴

Calvin was aware that some might accuse him of reintroducing superstition, or a new law to bind the conscience. In his letter he defended himself by declaring that the church was permitted to test the faith of those wishing to partake of its communion fellowship. Nor should a minister give the sacrament indiscriminately to everyone without knowing whether they were worthy; he is to avoid its desecration.¹¹⁵

The element of compulsion which entered with such a "hearing" as a condition of admission to communion cannot be overlooked, though the reformers believed they could justify it. Calvin might have added that the selectivity was necessary not only to protect the sacrament, but also to protect the would-be communicant. Just as in the passage above

from the Württemberg Order, the Second Helvetic Confession declares that those who do not approach the Lord's Table with true faith "do despite unto the death of Christ, and therefore eat and drink condemnation to themselves."¹¹⁶ From such a point of view it no doubt appears proper when the Württemberg Order instructs the pastor to advise anyone who was obviously a great sinner and who was unrepentant, with no intention of changing, that they should not commune. The pastor was to refuse to distribute the elements to such a person.¹¹⁷ Whatever the justification, this kind of substitute for the sacrament of confession, in addition to its role in a ministry of consolation and a ministry of instruction, had a disciplinary role.

The Protestant critique of the Roman Catholic sacrament of penance and their reworking of the theology and forms of confession sprang from a teaching which emphasized consolation rather than discipline, as Tentler writes in his conclusions.¹¹⁸ However, the connection between confession and discipline for the Protestants, especially for the southern German and Swiss reformers, was closer than Tentler may lead one to expect.

To some extent the connection of penance and discipline was bequeathed by the tradition. When confession was a pre-condition for communion, it had a link with exclusion from the sacrament. There was also a connection through the Bible texts chosen to support views of confession and "the power of the keys." Calvin declared that the Catholics had applied falsely to auricular or private confession passages in which Christ had spoken rather of the preaching of the gospel or of the ban.¹¹⁹ The subject of just which texts were thought to refer to which practice is a complex one, for the Protestants were by no means of one opinion.¹²⁰ The discussion forced them, however, to reflect on the meaning of "the keys", and led naturally to consideration of both confession of sins and discipline.

Yet not only the history of the sacrament of penance brought about the conjunction of the Protestant alternatives to confession with discipline. A form of discipline may be glimpsed even as Luther wrote of freedom of confession and the comfort of private confession and absolution in his Large Catechism. He expected that each person's conscience would drive him or her to confession when the external compulsion was removed. Those who did not come were not forced. "But they should know that we do not consider them Christians."¹²¹

Let us consider reformers from further south. Martin Bucer did not differ from his south German and Swiss colleagues and friends other than in being, for once, more concise, when in De regno Christi as cited above he wrote of catechism, contrition and sorrow, raising the dejected, and "efficacious means for avoiding sins" in one sentence. The themes of consolation, instruction, admonition, and discipline are interwoven. It would be misleading to deal with these reformers as though these were carefully demarcated pieces of theology or church life. These men went quickly from speaking of repentance and forgiveness through faith to speaking of betterment and renewal of life. One can imagine that this was not only in their written works, but in their work with their flocks as well. In a private conversation prior to communion those who feared to commune because they felt "unworthy" to approach the sacrament might have been comforted through the teaching that only faith and the correlative insight into their sinfulness were needed. On the other hand, those not recognizing their unworthiness might be brought to see it, so that in that perception they were worthy to commune. For as Veit Dietrich in his instructions on the pre-communion examination indicated, unworthy reception was reception without repentance and without the intention to refrain from sinning.¹²²

Other forms of confession, which for the northern Swiss would be better termed counselling, could also have a disciplinary aspect, as Roth indicates in the case of Oecolampadius.¹²³ Even a general confession was not necessarily without disciplinary value, since it could also reinforce acceptable behavior and standards. It may have been generally less intensive, but could also work as the days of public prayer, fasting and humiliation during crises, which Keith Thomas assesses as follows in the case of an epidemic:

By assembling together they demonstrated their social solidarity in the face of the epidemic; and, by confessing the sins which they thought might have occasioned it, they reaffirmed the ethical standards of their society.¹²⁴

We do not wish to emphasize the disciplinary aspect which can be found in the various alternatives supported by the reformers to such an extent that consolation or counsel or instruction is obscured. Confession for the Protestants was a complex theme, and we have scarcely done that complexity justice. One important point is that it was not a matter which

had only one aim, whether consolation or discipline be chosen. Nor had it but one concrete expression. Nor can a neat apportionment of aims or expressions between "the Lutherans" and "the Reformed" be made. The variety will again be seen when we discuss confession at the side of the sick and dying in chapter five. Before that we shall consider the motifs of comfort and discipline again, for they are threads which run through the whole of the pastoral ministry of the Protestants.

5. Extreme Unction

We turn to the third Catholic sacrament used in the care of souls of the dying: the priestly anointing of the dying with consecrated oil. The Protestants found nothing to recommend its retention as a sacrament. Though some, more with reluctance than with zeal, refrained from completely condemning it, the practice seems to have soon disappeared from the pastoral repertoire in Protestant Germany and Switzerland. This is no wonder, considering the thoroughness of the critique. Using the very biblical passages which the Catholics viewed as prooftexts for their position, the critics considered worst of all the fact that the unction was done in extremis, in contradiction to James 5.14-16 and Mark 6.13. Furthermore they declared that it was no sacrament and that it could not effect the forgiveness of sins as was claimed.

The reformers pointed out that any anointing of the sick on the basis of James 5 could only be aimed at healing. The practice of extreme unction, waiting until the sick were on death's door and then anointing them as a ritual to aid them precisely because they were expected to die,¹²⁵ was therefore absolutely unfounded. The text of James, Luther wrote, promises health and recovery, and if the unction were truly a sacrament this should have been the result of anointing and prayer. Yet just the opposite effect was ascribed to Catholic unction. With an irony to delight Protestant hearts he supposed that the medieval theologians had shown "shrewdness and foresight" in interpreting James' directions as extreme unction.

For this very purpose they would have it to be extreme unction, that the promise should not stand; in other words, that the sacrament should be no sacrament. For if it is extreme unction, it does not heal, but gives way to the disease; but if it heals, it cannot be extreme unction. Thus, by the interpretation of these masters, James is shown to have contradicted himself, and to have instituted a sacrament in order not to institute one; for they must have an extreme unction just to make untrue what the apostle intends, namely, the healing of the sick by it. If this is not madness, I ask you what is?¹²⁶

Calvin was scathing in a point-for-point comparison of the Epistle of James and the Catholic practice of his time. Even if James' instructions were normative for the sixteenth century, "even at that they would not make much headway in proving their anointing, with which they have hitherto daubed us." According to James, all the sick were to be anointed; "these fellows smear with their grease not the sick but half-dead corpses when they are already drawing their last breath.... If in their sacrament they have a powerful medicine..., it is cruel of them never to heal in time." In the Bible, the elders do the anointing; in the papacy only priests are permitted. They say James meant "priests", with the plural "as embellishment - as though the churches of that time swarmed with sacrificers, so that they could proceed in a long parade, bearing holy oil on a litter." Calvin believed the elders' unction was with normal oil, and that this was meant by the oil mentioned in Mark 6.13. The Catholic unction used oil "consecrated by a bishop, that is, warmed with much breathing, muttered over with long incantations, and saluted with nine kneelings." James meant that not through the grease, as the papists claim, but through the prayer of the faithful the sins of the sick would be forgiven.¹²⁷

Zwingli agreed with Luther that the Catholics distorted James by omitting his intention of healing. They further misunderstood James by giving the oiling and not prayer the credit for forgiveness of sins.¹²⁸ The function of forgiveness in Catholic opinion is more transparent in Olavus Petri's prologue to his Swedish Handbock of 1529. He also refused to recognize any apostolic use of unction other than to heal:

They did not anoint anyone with the intent that such unction should be a passport or a ward between the devil and his soul and take away his sins; that would be contrary to the faith. They only used such anointing for bodily medicine, as the prayers in the Latin manual also imply concerning the same unction.¹²⁹

Petri found in the Latin prayers support for his position, and he did not totally condemn anointing for the purpose expressed there: healing. If it could be understood by priest and recipient in the proper way it could be used still. However, he felt it were better abolished because of the abuses, and because "the present use of such anointing (or: ointment) is not according to the custom of the apostles."¹³⁰ Nonetheless, for those who desired and needed unction, in other words, for pastoral reasons, Petri included a reformed rite in his manual. In keeping a form for anointing the sick he seems to have been joined among the reformers only by Cranmer in the 1549 Book of Common Prayer.¹³¹

The Protestants brought the healing aspect of unction into the foreground, and sought to disconnect forgiveness and anointing from one another. An early expression of reformed opinion in Nürnberg declared that the use of anointing only for the dying and for forgiveness was "a devilish seduction, for our sin is forgiven alone through the shedding of the blood and death of Christ our Lord." Yet that God's gift of healing through unction with prayer might still be given to some was not denied: "Whoever can still do it, may he do so."¹³²

For this final point perhaps they found encouragement in Luther's Babylonian Captivity. So long as no one pretended that unction was a divinely instituted sacrament, or that it was in accord with the prescriptions of the author of the Epistle, Luther could find aspects of the practice which his theology did not cause him to reject.

We do not deny...that forgiveness and peace are granted through extreme unction; not because it is a sacrament divinely instituted, but because he who receives it believes that these blessings are granted to him.... It is sufficient for the one anointed to hear and believe the Word.¹³³

Talking in a similar vein about what was possible, he said he had no doubt that if a prayer as described in the Epistle "was made over a sick man, that is, made in full faith by older, graver, and saintly men, as many as we wished would be healed. For what could not faith do?" But who has such faith? The counsel of James was not binding, but "anyone who will may follow" it. It was not meant for all the sick, but was given to the sick who were impatient and of little faith, "those whom the Lord allowed to remain in order that miracles and the power of faith might be manifest in them."¹³⁴

Luther could see benefits from a pastoral point of view, and allowed for the possibility of healing, in the ceremony he knew, so long as no wild claims were made. Somewhat later, in 1528, he wrote that just as a reformed burial practice was substituted for the masses for the dead, it would be well, instead of a sacrament of unction, if one would "go to the sick person, pray and admonish (him). And it should be free in the name of God that one may thereby anoint him with oil."¹³⁵

Though unction was for him certainly no sacrament, Zwingli saw the admonition of James as still applying. It was an admonition to visit the sick, and, when it was necessary and the disease demanded it, they were to be touched, anointed, and prayed for "by those advanced in age."¹³⁶ There was nothing in the Bible about consecrated oil in this case, he wrote, so the unction could be done with plain oil or butter. The prayer, though, was more important than the oiling, and if simple people were so foolish as to misunderstand the practice, then it would be better not to anoint the sick.¹³⁷

Bucer found that many things spoke against unction, and mentioned none that spoke for it when he reviewed the office for visiting the sick in the 1549 English Prayerbook.

Since this rite has not been introduced on the authority of any word or example of the divine law and was evidently unknown to the first and most holy Fathers; and since today it lends itself to widespread superstition, in the manner of all similar devices of men; and since it is not used for the healing of the sick as James prescribes, but only when hope for the recovery of the sick has been abandoned; and since in addition to all this it is joined to the sacrament of the most holy eucharist which...gives abundant strength to the sick; for all these reasons I could wish that this rite were abolished.¹³⁸

The revisers of the Book of Common Prayer omitted it in 1552.

Bucer was attacking a specific ceremony; he did not deal with the questions of the gift of healing or a non-sacramental ritual. Concerning these not all reformers were of one opinion. Contrary to Luther and Zwingli, Brenz, Bullinger, and Calvin numbered the gift of healing among those gifts given the apostles and early church which had since ceased.¹³⁹ "Even if we grant to the full that anointing was a sacrament of those powers which were then administered by the hands of the apostles," Calvin argued, though he of course had no intention of admitting that, "it now has nothing to do with us, to whom the administering of such

powers has not been committed."¹⁴⁰ Without the gift of healing to link contemporary and apostolic times, what sense had an alternative ritual of unction more in line with James' description than the Catholic one? Brenz simply reinterpreted unction thoroughly after attacking the Catholic one:

Nonetheless it is proper that the ministers visit the sick at home and pray for their health with the church, also comfort them through the preaching of the gospel and administration of the eucharist, for this is the right divine oiling through which the Holy Spirit is powerful in the faithful.¹⁴¹

After agreeing in the attempt to disconnect unction and the forgiveness of sins and to draw the healing component of the tradition of anointing into the center, as part of their critique of the Roman sacrament, the Protestants took various positions. Reformation of opinions, correction of abuses, and eradication of superstitions seemed to most of them to require a disproportionate effort just to save the admittedly unnecessary anointing of the sick. Some believed that the charisma of healing was one not granted the church of their day in any case. No one denied that God could heal the body as well as he healed the soul. Yet even those who found some positive relationship to unction in addition to prayer for the sick tended to leave the healing to a combination of God and medicine, and to be modest about the role of the clergy. In any case, bodily health was not considered the most important concern.

6. Ordination

What made possible the final acceptance of the disappearance of the priest as a mediator between Christians and God on the part of some people, and his correlative disappearance as a necessary participant in a properly carried out ritual of dying, was the insight expressed in the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers. An essential difference between ordained and non-ordained Christians was no longer part of the theological equipment of the Protestants. The desacralization of ordination, and the non-sacral nature of the ceremonies which were developed as partial substitutes in the various churches of the Reformation, is succinctly expressed in Melanchthon's Loci:

Ordination is nothing else than choosing from the Church those who are to teach, baptize, bless the Supper, and share alms with the needy. Those who taught, baptized, and blessed the Supper were called "bishops" or "presbyters." Those who distributed alms to the needy were known as "deacons."¹⁴²

These sentences signify the collapse of the Roman hierarchical system for the Protestants, for they are based on Luther's statement in To the Christian Nobility (1520) that "there is no true, basic difference between laymen and priests, princes and bishops, between religious and secular, except for the sake of office and work, but not for the sake of status."¹⁴³ It may be that at the parish level the levelling of the status difference of those under religious vows sometimes meant more than the denial of an "indelible character"¹⁴⁴ and special position bestowed through ordination. The parish priest was perhaps often too near at hand, too similar in education, habits, and problems to be credited by his parishioners with an innate superior status, in spite of his control over the sacraments.¹⁴⁵ The monks and nuns, after all, disappeared, whereas the priest was replaced by a minister, if he was replaced.

Yet whatever the immediate practical impact, the teaching of the priesthood of all believers fundamentally challenged the authority structures of the Catholic church, and it remained as a challenge to those in Protestant churches as well. The refusal to number the Roman ordination among the sacraments of the church because the New Testament gives no evidence of its divine institution¹⁴⁶ was not the heart of the Protestant attack. Rather, they believed such an invention of sacramental status pointed out the papal misappropriation of authority. Not all the reformers were willing to keep as much of the traditional liturgical expression as was Luther, but they could agree with his call for Christian freedom over against papal claims:

We do not object to their being free to invent, say, and assert whatever they please; but we also insist on our liberty, that they shall not arrogate to themselves the right to turn their opinions into articles of faith... It is enough that we accommodate ourselves to their rites and ceremonies for the sake of peace; but we refuse to be bound by such things as if they were necessary to salvation, which they are not.¹⁴⁷

Luther and Bucer charged that the pope and his bishops tried to usurp divine authority and to rule the church themselves, and that they also failed to serve the church as they should, with the proclamation of the gospel.¹⁴⁸ Calvin saw in the Roman ordination as a consecration of priests for offering the sacrifice of the mass an arrogation of an office which Christ alone filled. Thus the priesthood was "impious and sacrilegious."¹⁴⁹ The attack on ordination was in essence an attack on the Roman teaching on the priesthood and on its authority, not just on a sacramental ritual.

Some ceremony for setting apart men for the ministry was acceptable to the Reformed and Lutheran reformers, though developments in the various churches were not uniform.¹⁵⁰ Calvin nearly called such a ceremony a sacrament, for he believed the proper ministry of word and sacrament in the church was divinely ordained. He withheld the designation, though, because it was not administered to all the faithful.¹⁵¹ I Timothy 4.14 was for Bucer and Calvin an indication that the laying on of hands should be used.¹⁵²

However, the minister's office was not understood as one of self-appointed authority over the laity. The distinction made between those designated as ministers of the word and sacraments and other Christians was not to lead to tyranny. It was also not to be ignored, according to the magisterial reformers. They did not always agree on the nature of the distinction. The Lutherans, for example, allowed baptism by a layperson in an emergency. Reformed theologians not only considered such a state of emergency to be nonexistent and such a baptism unnecessary. They also felt it was highly improper and forbade it, for not all the faithful were given the command to baptize.¹⁵³ The Second Helvetic Confession distinguished between the priesthood and the ministry.¹⁵⁴ Luther, on the other hand, stated that all Christians are "equally priests, that is to say, we have the same power in respect to the Word and sacraments." He then qualified this by adding that "no one may make use of this power except by the consent of the community or by the call of a superior. (For what is common property of all, no individual may arrogate to himself, unless he is called.)"¹⁵⁵

One of the dangers against which they all wished to guard was a radical individualism which could threaten what most of the reformers believed to be a necessary order in the Body of Christ. Even among the

Anabaptists, one of the Protestant groups most critical of a hierarchical ministry and firm in the claim that the individual had the right to read and interpret the Scriptures freely,

the right of private interpretation, still asserted against the monopoly of the "Roman doctors" in public life, became the obligation to test one's findings with those of others within the fellowship.... In the quest for final authority, the Key of David (which unlocked the meaning of Scripture) and the Keys of Peter (which unlocked the gates of heaven and hell) became possessions of the community of believers.¹⁵⁶

What Franklin Littell believes developed in Anabaptism out of a need for discipline and in order to survive under persecution,¹⁵⁷ was an integral part of the conceptions of reformers in other sections of Protestantism very early. The whole community received God's command to appoint the ministry.¹⁵⁸

When in 1523 Luther wrote about the right of congregations to choose their pastors, he assumed an episcopal structure in the churches he knew. In a situation where no evangelical bishop existed to appoint a minister, a congregation might choose its own, just as a Christian might take upon himself the task of proclaiming the gospel in the exceptional situation where there was no group of Christians to arrange that. If there were acceptable bishops, continued Luther, they should nonetheless install no minister against the will of the parish.¹⁵⁹ Even Luther's support for such a practice did not ensure its use in the Lutheran state churches.

Nevertheless, the office of bishop was not defined as essentially different from that of any pastor. The Augsburg Confession reads:

Our teachers assert that according to the Gospel the power of the keys or the power of bishops is a power and command of God to preach the Gospel, to forgive and retain sins, and to administer the sacraments.... This power of keys or of bishops is used and exercised only by teaching and preaching the Word of God and by administering the sacraments.¹⁶⁰

The basic identity of the task of bishop and of ministers is even more clearly seen in Bucer's and Calvin's use of the words as virtually interchangeable with one another and with the terms "presbyter" and "elder".¹⁶¹

While the structures by which leaders of the churches were chosen and installed and the detailed definition of their various tasks differed among the churches of the reformation, the principle understood behind them all was that the Christian community as a whole has the responsibility to see that the ministry of word and sacrament is carried out

properly. Further, each individual, lay or ordained, is also to carry out a ministry in his or her daily life, in whatever manner is appropriate for that person's station, occupation, and situation. Just because a special responsibility was delegated to the clergy did not mean the responsibility was taken from the laity.¹⁶² Against the radical reformers, however, the Lutherans and Reformed held to the need for a regular ministry and the externally spoken word.¹⁶³

7. Marriage

The issue of marriage for the Protestant reformers was interwoven with the question of the priesthood. In Waldemar Kawerau's opinion "this fight against enforced celibacy finally had to lead to a wholly new, purer and deeper understanding of married life in general."¹⁶⁴ We are not in a position to decide here whether the Protestant view of marriage developed out of the critique of clerical celibacy, whether it grew alongside the belief in the priesthood of all believers with its levelling tendency with regard to the clergy, or whether the reasons and causal progression form quite another pattern.¹⁶⁵

At any rate, the part of Luther and his followers in upgrading the "worldly" vocations over against the "religious" ones meant more positive recognition of married life, for the division into clergy and laity, with celibacy demanded of the first group and of those in religious orders, affected the general attitude on the meaning and worth of marriage.¹⁶⁶ The energetic search for appropriate wives for Protestant pastors¹⁶⁷ and the symbolic value of the marriage of priests, which did not a little toward transforming them into ministers, set the tone for reformers' attitudes toward marriage. In his book on the pastoral ministry, Von der waren Seelsorge, Bucer wrote that though the demands of marriage can hinder a minister's work,

it also has, on the contrary, many advantages: not alone to live in propriety (züchtig) and without suspicion, but also more free with regard to earthly cares and activities, and to serve the Lord more faithfully, more diligently and with less impediment (onverhinderter), and especially at this time, when the true and working servants of the church are provided for extremely scantily so that the inheritance of Christ may remain for the servants of the Antichrist to waste so much the greater hoard.¹⁶⁸

Their praise of marriage was nonetheless coupled with the refusal to term it a sacrament. It was, according to Calvin,

a good and holy ordinance of God; and farming, building cobbling, and barbering are lawful ordinances of God, and yet are not sacraments.¹⁶⁹

The biblical proof-text was annihilated by pointing out that sacramental nature was attached to marriage only because of a mistake in translation, where for "mysterion" in Ephesians 5.32 not "mystery" but "sacrament" was used.¹⁷⁰ The ceremony in no way fit the reformers' definitions of a sacrament.¹⁷¹

However, the Roman Catholic position most vigorously attacked was not the claim that marriage was a sacrament, but the claim that the church could dictate what points were to be considered impediments to marriage - and that it could dispense with them under certain circumstances, including that of money. Among these the "impediment of ordination" came to be most discussed, but other examples of the "tyranny" of these ecclesiastical laws were also enumerated and rejected.¹⁷² Particularly felt to be unfounded was the prohibition of marriage between relatives up to the seventh degree of consanguinity and between people in "spiritual relationship" to one another, as godparent and godchild.¹⁷³ All of these "figments rather than impediments"¹⁷⁴ should be abolished, argued the reformers, and a much simpler ordering of the matter which would allow more freedom carried out. The question was: who should undertake this?

When with reformation of a territory or city the canonical jurisdiction ceased, the whole system of church courts, which had regulated marriage among other things, dissolved. Some of the cases related to marriage had already come within the jurisdiction of the civil authorities before the reformation: matters involving wealth, for example.¹⁷⁵ From the reformers' complaints about the medieval church and their professed understanding of marriage one might well infer that they let all decision-making power go over to the civil authorities. At the very beginning of his Traubüchlein, or "Little wedding book for the simple pastor" (1529) Luther declared clearly that

while wedding and marriage is a worldly business, it behooves us clergy or ministers in no way to arrange therein something or to rule, but rather to leave each city and land their custom and usage in the matter as they are practiced.... But when someone desires us to bless them before the church or in the church, to pray for them or also to marry (trauen) them, we are obliged to do that.¹⁷⁶

Further south in the German-speaking lands and in Switzerland the distinction was not so neatly made. Walter Köhler shows that not all the matters of marriage law left in the air by the disappearance of canon law came directly into civil hands. There was often a body or court formed which fell perfectly into neither the category civil nor that of ecclesiastical, but which was a mixture of the two. The ministers felt they had the right and duty to be involved in matters of morals, and the cases being decided lay within the broad area of sexual morals and were not purely secular issues. Only gradually, and differently in each city and territory, as Köhler documents, did a separation of marriage law and moral discipline as two areas of competence emerge. But as long as it was customary or considered necessary for the church to bless the marriages and keep registry books, it announced its interest in this area of the life of its members.¹⁷⁷

This interest of the church was defined by the reformers as a pastoral one, not a legal one.¹⁷⁸ Yet while one might make the distinction with regard to interest and intention, which is difficult enough, with regard to the results it is well-nigh impossible because of the close relations of the church and the government. While the expression of this differed from place to place, and while in particular cases the church might argue for one solution and the civil authorities for another, their goals in the area of moral were fundamentally the same. For this reason, those among the civil authorities who sought one had a strong argument against introduction of a church discipline in Protestant lands alongside the civil supervision of morals.

Protestant reappraisal of the sacramental system, which formed the core of Roman pastoral practice, was based on beliefs about what should be the pillars of the pastoral ministry. Especially in the Lutheran churches the sacraments continued to be one of those, but they no longer

held their unique position and significance. Not only were they reduced in number. Their efficacy was reinterpreted.

The usefulness of baptism and the eucharist did not arise from their mere performance, according to the Protestant theologians. They functioned as signs, or symbols - a statement which produced further varieties of interpretations. These created in turn various opinions on the role of the sacraments in the ministry touching illness and death.

Baptism, they could agree, was a sign of participation in the Body of Christ. One person might have gained comfort in the face of death from this as a sign of election, another from this as a sign of forgiveness, and yet another more because it was a sign of confession of faith. Where the eucharist was interpreted especially as a sign of forgiveness, it was given a significant role in consoling the sick and dying. Where it was seen more as a sign of the community among Christians, this sacrament had a different function for those confined to their homes. We shall consider later the diversity of Protestant alternatives to the Roman rituals of viaticum and unction for the dying.

The emphasis in Protestant theology on the prominence of faith was reflected both in their teaching on the sacraments and in their beliefs concerning the "last things" - death and what lay beyond it. Insistence on infant baptism in this context created a certain tension. This was evidenced both in the problem of the faith of infants and in connection with the death of infants before they were baptized, a point to be discussed in chapter seven.

One can also note that for the Lutheran and Reformed theologians of southern Germany and Switzerland, faith in Christ's saving death and resurrection was not detached from nor opposed to knowledge, at least practically. (By this we mean simply that they believed that the people of their flocks could not believe in Christ without having learned of his sacrifice and glorification. This was a defense of the external instruments of Bible, word, and sacraments against pure spiritualism.) This explains in part their interest in instruction, which was manifested not only in catechism and confirmation, but as well in confession and, as we shall see, other aspects of the pastoral care of those who were ill, dying or bereaved.

Knowledge of the faith also was coupled with morality for these reformers. This was expressed in their involvement in marriage matters and in their attempts to create Christian cities. It was displayed in their regard for discipline. This concern had an organic place in their theologies; it was also consonant with the societies in which they lived and their roles in those societies.

Car comme la doctrine est l'ame de l'Eglise pour la vivifier, aussi la discipline et correction des vices sont comme les nerfs pour maintenir le corps en son estat et vigueur.¹

Chapter 4: MOTIFS AND MEANING*

We have seen some of what Protestant thought meant theologically and practically for the sacramental system of the Catholic church and thereby some of the expectations and instruments of evangelical pastoral care. It is necessary to deal more specifically with these and to spin them into more substantial threads before going on to see how they were woven into patterns in the ministry to sick, dying, and mourning people of the sixteenth century. We need to draw out of the broader topics of preaching and discipline and the wider understanding of temptation what is relevant for our study.

The phrase used by Clebsch and Jaekle of early medieval pastoral aims² can continue to be used of the Protestants, for they too wished to give the faithful the guidance they believed was needed in matters of belief, in the cult, and in moral questions. Their means, also not original, were preaching, the administration of the sacraments, and discipline. What distinguished their positions from those of their Roman Catholic predecessors and contemporaries were the meaning and relative significance which were attached to each of these instruments, and that naturally further affected their application of them.

1. Proclamation and Pastoral Care

The new status which preaching was given among the Protestants meant that three changes were effected in the traditional system. First, preaching was no longer something to be fobbed off on friars and a few Praedicanten installed and paid by city councils. Preaching was no

*The notes for this section begin on page 298.

longer reckoned to be of less value than celebrating Mass. It was no longer something no bishop in his right mind would bother doing, unless he were one of the reforming sort. Luther termed it the "highest office", and Calvin wrote that it was often praised in the Bible so that this office "might be held among us in highest honor and esteem, even as the most excellent of all things."³ The true church was to be found "where the pure gospel is preached,"⁴ where "the Word of God (is) purely preached and heard,"⁵ as well as where the sacraments were properly administered. Thus as a second change proclamation of the word of God became the standard by which the church and its ministry were to be measured. Third, the office of the word became an integral part of the cure of souls and the true pastor's task, though the precise definitions of the relation of that part to other aspects of the pastoral ministry varied.

The ministry of the word should not be too narrowly understood if one seeks to comprehend the Protestant reformers. In the first place its significance should not be underestimated. Jaroslav Pelikan believes that in the case of Martin Luther one can find good grounds to contend that he

elevated the preaching of the word of God to the status of a sacrament, indeed, that in a sense he made it the sacrament on which all the other sacraments depended. To Luther this did not mean, as it did to some of his contemporaries, that the other sacraments were no more than various forms of preaching....But it did mean that just as "Jesus came...preaching the gospel of God" (Mark 1:14), so he had commanded his church to preach the same gospel and had attached the promise of his grace to its preaching. "For God has decreed that no one can or will believe or receive the Holy Spirit without that gospel which is preached or taught by word of mouth." (Sermons on the Gospel of St. John).⁶

While Calvin, too, wrote that "we need outward helps to beget and increase faith in us, and advance it to its goal,"⁷ he treated word and sacrament more as equal and distinct means. Also in the Institutes he wrote of the three "blessings" of God:

For first, the Lord teaches and instructs us by his Word. Secondly, he confirms it by the sacraments. Finally, he illumines our minds by the light of his Holy Spirit and opens our hearts for the Word and the sacraments to enter in....⁸

Yet both Bucer and Calvin also described the offices in the church as the "ministry of the word."⁹ Zwingli, in commenting on I Timothy 5.17 in his Schlussreden, spoke to the thesis that the Bible recognized as priests only those who proclaimed the word of God:

Therefore I here gladly let those be priests who teach in the churches, those who proclaim the word of God, those who translate the Greek and Hebrew language(s), those preaching, those healing, those visiting the sick, those distributing help and alms to the poor, those feeding. For these parts all belong to the word of God.¹⁰

Veit Dietrich expressed the classic Lutheran position in a children's sermon when he explained:

When I speak of the word, I include the holy sacraments, baptism, the eucharist, and absolution, for such sacraments are not only expressed in the word, but also we appropriate the word through them, so that we accept it and may be comforted ourselves by the promise of God.¹¹

Here it is clear that the ministry of the word cannot be limited to the activity of preaching. Further, it is no accident that Dietrich spoke of comfort and promise in connection with the word of God. As we have seen, for Luther baptism is promissio, the eucharist is promissio, absolution is promissio.¹² For him God's word is first and foremost a promise of forgiveness and justification. He wrote in the mid-1520's that

whoever has a bad conscience from sins should go to the Sacrament (of the Altar) and receive comfort, not from the bread and wine, not from the body and blood of Christ, but from the Word that offers, bestows, and gives me in the Sacrament the body and blood of Christ as given and shed for me.¹³

The word that he sought in the sacraments as in preaching was one of comfort.

This is not to overlook the dialectic relation between the preaching of the law and the preaching of the gospel in Luther's thought,¹⁴ but the aim and end of the proclamation was fundamentally the communication of the gospel of grace. This holds true even of Veit Dietrich, who according to Bernhard Klaus emphasized more than Luther the preaching of the law as a principle of homiletics. Here Dietrich was closer to Melancthon, writes Klaus, and he was forced to this position by the situation in his congregations. He believed that only where a sense of guilt and sin is present will the gospel work as consolation,¹⁵ a position which will be illustrated when we consider in the next chapter the

instructions in his Agendbüchlein for visiting the sick. Yet he saw himself as preacher of the gospel; his pedagogic intentions did not contradict that.¹⁶

This last is also true for Luther. He sometimes seems to have been far from granting a 'mere' pedagogical function to the sermon, especially when compared with Calvin who regularly brought together preaching and instruction, as in the quotations just above. According to Max Schoch, preaching for the Reformed theologians was not so much an assurance and a comfort as an edifier of the church and an aid toward the right knowledge of God and of his will.¹⁷ However, Luther's interest in the instruction of the congregation was also great, and, as said in the preceding chapter, the sermon as well as the catechism was used for this purpose. Indeed, says Pelikan,

there are passages in Luther's writings where the preaching and hearing of the word of God threatened to make the church a kind of schoolroom by reducing the worship of the church to its didactic function; there are others in which the proclamation of the word threatened to become as automatic as the sacraments had been in late medieval theory.¹⁸

Both of these are in accord with Luther's insistence on the necessity of apprehension of the word of God by each individual as the word for him or her, as personally applicable. The word coming from outside oneself and concretely experienced as spoken or read, as water, bread and wine, was a reassurance of the reality of a salvation not created or imagined by nor dependent upon human power, yet which showed its fruits in the life of the hearer.

Pulpit and altar were not the only places for communication of this word, nor were those called to take the lead there the only communicators. Where confession was heard and absolution spoken, and through the "mutual conversation and consolation" among Christians¹⁹ the word was present. These were what the Lutheran church brought to the bedside of the sick or dying Christian and to the graveside; they were understood to be the proclamation of the gospel whether performed by pastor, relative, friend, or stranger.²⁰

Lest Luther's expectations with regard to the word appear unrealistic, it should be added that he could also admit that it did not appear to move and transform all its hearers.²¹ He could not pretend that the church he knew was the fulfillment of his vision. One place this is clear is in his introduction to his German Mass (1526), where he sketches

a community of Christians which would more nearly approximate his ideal for Christians who cared for their souls. It is not at all inappropriate that he presented this in the context of the Lutheran mass. Word, sacrament, and discipline are all mentioned in this Order for those "who earnestly want to be Christians and to confess the gospel with deed and tongue."²² Entering their name in a list, they would gather themselves for prayer, reading the Bible, baptism, the eucharist, "and to practice other Christian works." Those who acted in an unchristian way could be put under the ban according to Matthew 18.55 ff. Alms could be collected and distributed to the poor. No elaborate liturgy for such a group would be necessary; an Order could quickly be put together. "But as yet I neither can nor want to organize or set up such a community or congregation. For I do not yet have the people for that, just as I also do not see many who are compelled to (do) it."²³

In this conception of an active, gathered, earnest Christian community Karl Holl sees a desire on Luther's part for a free church structure ("Freiwilligkeitskirche"), a desire which existed alongside his desire for the breadth of the territorial church ("Volkskirche"). Holl views the latter as rooted in Luther's "conviction of the victorious power of the word," and the former in "his demand for personal conscientiousness."²⁴ Luther's interest was in an effective care of souls, and in supporting those Christians who took their own seriously. It is interesting that despite certain differences in emphasis as well as in specific doctrinal positions, the Strasbourg reformers produced out of their interest in pastoral care a plan for communities (Gemeinschaften) of 'serious' Christians which was not so very dissimilar to the outline which Luther made.²⁵

These communities where the proper care of souls and its fruits could be actualized were not to be isolated and static groups. Bucer and his colleagues hoped they would win new members, through a mixture of discipline and preaching. They envisioned limited rights for those not in the Gemeinschaften. They could attend sermons, and enjoy the services of the clergy for baptisms and the blessing of marriages. They would be visited when ill. However, if they wished to commune or asked for a church burial they had reached the limit. Then they were to be asked "earnestly but in a friendly way" if they wished to join the community. The proposers of this concept felt that they could win many in this way.²⁶

Neither the idea of Luther nor that of the reformers of Strasbourg was actualized, but important in each is the close relationship of preaching and discipline. Without losing sight of their differences, one should not forget that here was also common ground,²⁷ and it was at its core their pastoral interest.

2. Discipline as Pastoral Care

Ecclesiastical discipline in the Protestant churches of the sixteenth century is apt to be misunderstood in at least two ways. It can, firstly, be associated exclusively with Reformed churches, as though Lutherans had no positive interest in discipline exercised by the church. Secondly, it may be thought to be the furthest thing from a truly 'evangelical' pastoral care and to have been merely a negative instrument of moral control, if not indeed of moral tyranny.

The first of these is readily contradicted by reference to the just-mentioned suggestions of Luther in his German Mass for a gathered community of earnest Christians, but this is by no means the only illustration of Luther's and Lutherans' interest. Wilhelm Maurer gathered many to underline his statement that "only ignorance or thoughtlessness can maintain that the motif of church discipline remained alien to Luther."²⁸ Robert Stupperich picks out Luther's sermon on the ban (1520) and mentions other works and Orders of Lutheran churches to illustrate his point that ecclesiastical discipline should not be taken as a particular characteristic of the Swiss churches and the south German ones in their sphere of influence.²⁹ Interwoven as it is with concepts of the law and works, the understanding of the church and the position of the civil government, the conception of church discipline could not be uniformly understood by all Lutheran theologians, let alone among all the reformers.³⁰ Furthermore each reformer's thought developed and changed, and particularly with regard to discipline it was open to the influence of the situation or controversy in which he stood.³¹

Here it is not so important to trace the various details and differences in exposition, expectations and emphasis among the reformers, but rather to draw attention to the 'motif' of discipline in their pastoral ministries and the aims connected with it. An instrument of discipline as well as of comfort was the reformed confession and absolution, as we have said before, which with a shift of emphasis became the examination prior to communion. Besides this instrument, which was exercised by the pastor, though his right to excommunicate was a point where some civil authorities felt they had the right to be heard,³² there was the office of the elder (variously called Älteste, Kirchspielpfleger, Bannherr, Zuchtherr, Presbyter, or other titles, in different places and at different times having various meanings). While this office came to be considered typical of the Reformed churches, Maurer has collected evidence that it was not absent from the Lutheran tradition. He sees the common ground with the Lutherans as removed first when in the Reformed tradition the office began to be viewed as an autonomous one alongside that of the pastor. This he believes to be true of the later Bucer and of Calvin.³³

While interest in discipline of both life and doctrine was present in north and south Germany and Switzerland, one can, according to Maurer, distinguish between the Luther and the Calvinist churches, for

Calvinism sought to win for itself its own ecclesiastical exercise of discipline and thereby its own church law in the struggle against the reluctant government, while Lutheranism withdrew itself from this fight in its whole severity and extent and contented itself with mere doctrinal discipline (Lehrzucht).³⁴

The suggestions made in the various Protestant churches for instituting ecclesiastical discipline were never formed in a vacuum. Each church had to negotiate with the government in its city or territory in seeking to put the ideas into effect. There were varying degrees of success.³⁵

Swiss and German social and political structures in the sixteenth century did not permit in practice a sharp distinction between civil discipline and ecclesiastical discipline. Each civil unit had to clarify for itself as best it could just where the boundary between civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction lay. This process was complicated by the fact that the government were also members of the church and governed members of the church, and by the general recognition of the right of both church and state to be interested in the morals of the inhabitants

and in the conduct of their lives. Against those opposing church discipline on the grounds that it was unnecessary in towns with Christian governors since there the graver vices were punished by the civil authorities, one of the most articulate and influential of the supporters of a church discipline, Martin Bucer, enunciated his view of the difference between civil government and the pastoral care of the elders in the parish. The godly, indeed, he wrote, accept the civil punishment as from God, and to them it is a medicine for the soul and the conscience. However, such people being few, the gospel and the spiritual ministry of the church is necessary for the many, to awake in them true contrition and to bring them to amend their ways. It is not the same as the civil discipline, but over and above it, established by Christ for his church. Christ never said it was to be stopped under a Christian government.³⁶ It is not surprising that a sixteenth-century government reading that should be somewhat nervous about giving jurisdiction and disciplinary power to the church. Its reluctance stemmed from what appeared to be a justified fear of the beginning of a new tyranny of the church.

Thus what we have characterized as the second possible misunderstanding of ecclesiastical discipline in the sixteenth century was not alien to the period. Over against the suspicion or belief that a pastoral care based on the gospel cannot include discipline can, in the end, merely be set the self-understanding of the Protestant reformers in this regard, and what they saw as the aims of such discipline.

One of the most extensive expositions of these came from the pen of Martin Bucer and was published in 1538. The title he gave the book which had his conception of discipline as its central theme was significantly: On the True Care of Souls and the Proper Pastoral Ministry, as the Same should be Established and Performed in Christ's Church.

Stupperich terms Von der waren Seelsorge "the most representative and noteworthy" among Bucer's German works, and one in which "the whole reform work carried out in Strasbourg finds a testing and justification."³⁷ Discipline was an essential part of Bucer's theological thought. It is typical of his self-understanding as pastor that in this book he dealt with excommunication, the most controversial and therefore central issue in the realm of church discipline, under the heading: "How the injured and wounded sheep are to be bound up and healed."³⁸

The use of the image of medicine in connection with discipline, found frequently in this book,³⁹ was by no means uniquely Bucerian. In his sermon on the ban in 1520 Luther cited with approval Roman canon law:

'Since the ban is a medicine rather than a poison, it only punishes for the sake of improvement and does not annihilate for the sake of destruction, insofar as he who is subjected to it does not despise it; therefore every spiritual judge should diligently attempt to prove himself one who seeks to do nothing with the ban but to improve and to cure.'⁴⁰

Properly exercised, according to Luther, the ban was meant "only to restore the inward spiritual fellowship." It was then a "kind motherly scourge" applied "so that no one is cast into hell but rather is saved from it and forced from damnation into his salvation."⁴¹

Oecolampadius referred to the admonitions of the church as medicine in a letter to Zwingli,⁴² and in the Institutes Calvin called discipline a "remedium". He saw it not as punishment for punishment's sake, but aimed, among other things, at awakening true repentance in the one disciplined.⁴³ In commenting on this part of the Institutes François Wendel insists that "however it may have appeared, it was always a part of the cure of souls."⁴⁴

While there was remarkably broad agreement on the need for and the aims of discipline in the church, this left room for individual accents. It is characteristic of Calvin, for example, that as the primary reasons for discipline he listed preclusion of the dishonoring of God's name and the contamination of the Body of Christ through countenancing shameless sinners as members of the church.⁴⁵ The motif of the purity of the Christian community in connection with discipline was also important, for example, for Brenz, Bucer, Oecolampadius, and Zwingli.⁴⁶ Not unrelated is the care for the eucharist and the insistence on discipline to keep away those who would profane it through contempt, found among Lutherans, including Brenz, and also by Bucer, Oecolampadius, and Calvin.⁴⁷ This was also care for the person who would eat and drink to his or her own harm if the meaning of the sacrament were not discerned by the communicant.

In Von der waren Seelsorge Bucer presented a series of counter-arguments to the reinstitution of church discipline, which he then sought to demolish. One deals precisely with this point of exclusion from

communion, and is phrased so seemingly akin to the reformer's own theology that one almost imagines it could have persuaded him. Allowing that there are some who have gravely sinned and have repented, begins the opponent. If some kind of discipline for a time "as a warning to them and as correction for the others" might be good, it does not follow that they should be banned as well from the Lord's Supper. Truly repentant sinners are to be comforted, and

the fellowship of the Lord in holy communion brings a special comfort, that our sins are paid for through Christ our Lord. Because no one can properly repent except in Christ, one should urge them to the communion of Christ and not shut them out of it. ⁴⁸

That one should comfort them is true, replied Bucer. Yet concerning Christian discipline we are not to figure according to our reason, but according to the word of God. The consolation of Christ cannot be communicated unless the spirit is quite humbled, as ordained by God. The sinner should not be too quickly forgiven by the church, Bucer argued further, in an extensive answer which did not precisely meet the situation of the already-repentant sinners of the challenge. Yet the prolonged discussion makes clear that Bucer wanted not just words of repentance, but signs of that and the will to amendment, before readmitting a sinner to communion. He did not excuse the minister from responsibility, even if a person felt himself that he could commune. He concluded that those opposing the ban knew too little about the kingdom of God. ⁴⁹

However discipline did not immediately or always mean excommunication. The biblical basis in Matthew 18.15-18 provided for gradual steps. The aim was the repentance of the sinner, both for the person's own sake and for the sake of the community, which could be damaged by the bad example and influence. Excommunication was the last step and a major one, not to be taken lightly even if just temporary. If the ban were used, it was

so that such sour dough does not infect and corrupt the whole dough of the Christian people and also that such people (as are placed under the ban), when possible, may be confounded themselves by such exclusion and avoidance and therefore the sooner moved and led to recognition of their sins and to betterment. ⁵⁰

Care had to be taken to balance the best interests of the individual with those of the community. Notorious and public sinful actions, that is, precisely those which could corrupt others most, were to be most sternly disciplined.⁵¹

Yet it was realized that harshness could simply make matters worse, by working despair rather than repentance.⁵² Though for Bucer the church, the Christian community, was the core concept of his theology,⁵³ he was no fanatic who lost sight of individuals and their weaknesses, whether laypersons or ministers.

From faith in Christ the true repentance must arise; therefore also the hope of grace must not fall, although fear and trembling should also be there, because one has so gravely injured and despised the great and unspeakable mercy of God for us....Because, then, there is so much danger connected with penance, as with all useful and necessary things, it requires great earnestness and true spiritual knowledge and sagacity, that penance be so applied and moderated that one thereby causes, moves, drives and holds the people to the true childlike and faithful (wargleubigen) repentance and betterment.⁵⁴

Behind the Ziegenhain Order was also this spirit of Bucer. This Order demands that the admonitions to repentance and change should

always be made with all Christian gentleness and mildness, and with faithful and friendly indication of the so rich grace and the so harsh judgement of Christ, also with the offer of counsel and instruction through the word of God in all that in which the person might have erred and doubted.⁵⁵

Calvin recommended a combination of strictness and gentleness, and a discipline so applied to each case as to best achieve the aims in that particular instance.⁵⁶ A legalistic discipline with prescribed penalties for various sins could not embody the reformed vision of ecclesiastical discipline any more than the idea of acts of penance as satisfaction for sins or conditions for God's forgiveness⁵⁷ could express its theological significance.

The reformers pressing for a church discipline did not ignore the danger that it could turn into tyranny. They were aware that hesitation in the face of their demands stemmed in part from the experience with the Roman Catholic practice, which was frequently termed tyranny. Bucer tried explicitly in Von der waren Seelsorge to quiet the fears of those

who thought that the disciplinary power of the Roman church was the source, not just an instrument, of its "tyranny". He tried to show that there were other reasons and sources, and further that ministers properly chosen were not likely to turn into tyrants.⁵⁸ Excommunication was not to be wielded by the individual minister on his own, Calvin wrote a pastor in Nürtingen, for "it degenerates easily into tyranny."⁵⁹ Though aware of dangers, the reformers were moved by their belief in the necessity of discipline in the life of Christians and by their "care for the kingdom of Christ."⁶⁰

Bucer recognized that even among those who might see the need for discipline and who did not fear its consequences there was a final counter-argument: it was impossible in the church of their day. It would frighten more sheep out of the fold than it would heal. Besides, such discipline could be practiced in the early church, a small group, a community drawn closely together in the context of persecution, but that was no model for the present. Today everyone was baptized.⁶¹ You cannot discipline a Volkskirche - Bucer, however, wanted just that. "We must some day decide whether we do indeed want to be Christians."⁶²

These were the dimensions of the issue for the reformers who urged, with concern for the moral actions of their flocks in this life - the "fruits" of faith - as well as for the state of their souls in the next,⁶³ the establishment of an ecclesiastical discipline. We have not considered the way in which this was concretely achieved in some places, nor the relative success or failure of the various attempts, nor how it was experienced in practice. As more important here we have concentrated rather on recognition of the intentions and aims of its supporters in order to show that the disciplinary element was considered to properly play a role in pastoral care in early Protestantism.

3. Death and the Devil

To see how these motifs of proclamation and discipline were woven into the practice of the ministry in cases of sickness and death we shall wait until further chapters. There are other motifs, however, having a more obvious significance in such situations. They are concerned with the meaning of suffering and death for a Christian.

The works in which this at first, perhaps, academic-sounding topic was discussed are not all theological treatises. There are the commentaries and dogmatic works, but there are also practical guides meant to help pastors visiting the dying, and many sermons. Here in fact, the distinction between theological and non-theological or practical writing is simply inappropriate. Scholarly works could be distinguished in the sixteenth century by being written in Latin rather than in the vernacular. It appears, however, that in early Protestantism no distinction between theological and practical works in the vernacular was made, which is not so unintelligible when the word is recognized as the major component of actual pastoral ministry in the Protestant churches.⁶⁴

As indicated in chapter two, the tradition of the Catholic church and medieval culture offered the Protestants certain categories for understanding and articulating the issues raised by physical, mental and spiritual suffering and by death. When Martin Luther began his sermon on *Invocavit* in 1522, perhaps into the minds of listeners came the pictures of an ars moriendi or a dance of death:

The summons of death comes to us all, and no one can die for another. Every one must fight his own battle with death by himself, alone. We can shout into another's ears, but every one must himself be prepared for the time of death, for I will not be with you then, nor you with me.⁶⁵

In comparison to the tradition, he intensified the loneliness and fear which the thought of death naturally invokes. In a sense, those following Luther were more alone before God and death than were their Catholic contemporaries. There was no earthly or saintly help here or in the hereafter that could be reckoned with; a Protestant was to expect no aid from past good deeds or future intercessions. Only Christ's sacrifice on the cross could atone for sin, and thus only Christ could be mediator between God and his human creation. Thereby indulgences lost

their power and the saints were relieved of what had been one of their main tasks.⁶⁶

We can still take comfort because of the saints, wrote Luther, but because of their example, no longer because of their intercessions.⁶⁷ There was no mediatory role given them in the Bible; Christ alone was to be prayed to as a mediator.⁶⁸ With characteristic indignation Calvin termed prayer directed elsewhere than to God as "manifest sacrilege" and ascribed it to fear that Christ was too weak to help, or too severe. Such beliefs, claimed the Genevan reformer, obscure the glory of the incarnation, make the cross empty, and rob Christ of praise.⁶⁹

He similarly denounced the belief in a time of expiation and cleansing between death and entrance into heaven. There being no satisfaction other than Christ's blood needed for salvation, there was no need for purgatory.⁷⁰ Furthermore, the Protestants agreed, there was no biblical basis for the doctrine and they demolished the Roman proof texts one by one.⁷¹

Nor could the Protestants find biblical backing for attempts to help souls after death through prayers, vigil services or masses for the dead,⁷² but here there was a more differentiated stand taken than with regard to purgatory. Masses or prayers done for payment were strictly condemned as the work of the devil.⁷³ Yet private personal prayers for the dead were more leniently dealt with by Luther, Bucer, and Zwingli. The Bible did not forbid these, and in the area of uncertainty thereby created these reformers found room for such prayers. For while they believed that those with faith would enter heaven upon death and those without would be in hell,⁷⁴ they knew that the decision about 'who went where' was hidden from human eyes. They also recognized that many people needed a way to express their love and worry for the deceased. So they allowed a simple prayer to be said once or twice, which commended the departed to God's mercy, so long as the uncertainty regarding the final result was not resolved.⁷⁵

Calvin was firmer. Though he acknowledged that the prayers of the bereaved were signs of love and that the early church had prayed for its dead from a sense of duty, custom was for him not enough to allow continuance of the practice in the absence of a biblical command. To do more than was directed by God in the scriptures was "to profane the invocation of God."⁷⁶

The effects of the abolition of indulgences, veneration of the saints, prayers and masses for the dead on the people of Germany and Switzerland need to be further investigated. Keith Thomas supposes that the rejection of the doctrine of purgatory

meant that each generation could be indifferent to the spiritual fate of its predecessor....This implied an altogether more atomistic conception of the relationship in which members of society stood to each other. No longer would they allocate so much of their resources to the performance of rituals primarily intended for the spiritual welfare of their dead ancestors....As a modern French historian puts it, "Life ceased to look to death for its perspective." 77

If these first and last statements are accurate, the development was precisely contrary to the wishes of the Protestant reformers. Indifference was not what they preached; they saw merely a certain helplessness. As we shall see as we consider the Church Orders' guidance on the dying and the dead, the social dimensions of faith and the importance of love of one's family and neighbors and duty toward them were emphasized. There are signs that these were not as widespread as they hoped. Yet perhaps one should ask how different the situation, the gap between reformers' hopes and reality, was before the doctrine of purgatory was attacked. The simple division of medieval communalism versus Protestant individualism is far from true; that seems certain. The buying of masses for the dead was also meant to aid the individual who paid for them. The more complex reality, at least in southern Germany and Switzerland, still awaits the historical, cultural and sociological research needed to describe the social structures, and the relationships of the living to their dead. It may be true that the Protestants, seeking to reform the latter in accord with what they believed to be the truth, are in part responsible for the "lack of a modern ritual adequate to deal with the crisis of death and bereavement."⁷⁸ However, they certainly thought they were developing more honest rituals, and they preached diligently that life was to be seen in relation to death.

With what then did these reformers meet the anxiety and care which were responsible for the popularity of indulgences, prayers to the saints, masses for the dead? These did not suddenly vanish. How was the Christian to face the irremediable uncertainty, to cope with the

fear of death and damnation? Luther answered succinctly in his sermon on the Friday after Invocavit in 1522, declaring that

faith...is a firm trust that Christ, the Son of God, stands in our place and has taken all our sins upon his shoulders and that he is the eternal satisfaction for our sins and reconciles us with God the Father....And when I have this faith, then I am certain God is fighting for me; I can defy the devil, death, hell, and sin, and all the harm with which they threaten me.⁷⁹

These were the adversaries, not only for Luther's followers but also for the tradition out of which they came. The existence of death, hell, and sin, and of the devil who was involved with them all, was expressed for the sixteenth-century Protestant in the phrase "the cross" or "the cross and suffering": Kreuz und Leiden.⁸⁰ Through the work of Christ these lost final power over believers. They were still to be fought, but the victory had already been won. Their threat to Christians was described as tentatio or Anfechtung, for which the English 'temptation' is scarcely an adequate translation when a second piece of apple pie can be called a temptation.

That faith can withstand the Anfechtungen, wrote Luther, is not a human work but one of the Holy Spirit. The other reformers agreed, though they produced varying views of the working of the Spirit, that

this art is impossible for human nature. As soon as God touches it slightly with distress, it is terrified and despairs, can think of nothing else, for all grace is gone and God is nothing but angry toward it. There, then, the devil helps to push with all his might and cunning until he has drowned it in doubts and melancholy.⁸¹

This was the pattern which Luther saw in any distress. In life the devil works to make the conscience believe that "God, devil, death, sin, hell, and all creatures are all the same and have all become its eternal and unremitting enemy." At death the devil attempts to drive a person to despair of salvation by pointing to the enormity of his or her sin and to the wrath of God.⁸² The Anfechtung at death became Luther's "picture of the general human situation."⁸³

Each reformer seems to have had an individual interpretation of the temptations which threatened a Christian facing death, as Luise Klein shows in several cases.⁸⁴ The motif of tentatio was a fundamental one in the Protestant pastoral ministry. Faith as the God-given refuge

from the temptations of the devil was at the core of Protestant theology. A solemn optimism colors the ways in which temptation was dealt with. The source of this was the belief that in temptation the Christian was always in God's hands. The children of God, "even while they are besieged by death," declared Calvin,

have peace because they know that Christ defends them adequately, and that they are safe....The point here is that though life in us is only begun, Christ announces it to the believers as their sure possession. Thus he removes the fear of death from them.⁸⁵

These reformers, however, were not only theologians; they were experienced pastors. Calvin, for example, did not always simply mark all those who feared death as unbelievers.⁸⁶ The fear of death was not so easily banished. Luther knew this, though he also proclaimed that "we are happy and confident because we know that Christ rose and that death is no more than the end of sin and the end of itself."⁸⁷ To see that required the eyes of faith,⁸⁸ and as the Christian's faith is not perfect, the fear of death remains. It is difficult to see, that is, to believe the life waiting on the other side and through the anguish of death.⁸⁹

The pastor's task was to remind, to urge, to instruct, to reassure those facing death, their own or another's, soon or later, that "under this death there still is a life hidden."⁹⁰ It was axiomatic that God was hidden under what people regarded as contrary to God. What the human spirit considered good and delightful was abominable to God. Luther presented this as the way to begin to understand the cross:

Now the most precious thing God has is death and dying; and Christ accepted it in love, joyfully and voluntarily, out of obedience to his Father. We flee it and consider life more precious than death....(Christ) lets go of life and accepts death. Now, if Christ did this, then fie on everyone who would try to get to heaven without following his example.⁹¹

The cross of Christ was in this theology the central device for interpreting what happened in human life. In it lay the key to the understanding of Anfechtung and suffering. Distress was not meant to be taken lightly. Rather it was given theological weight and deepened to the point where only God could rescue one. It was given a significant place in the whole plan of salvation, and had meaning for these theologians in a context wider than simple everyday life.

The cross meant that Christians must suffer. Christ as example showed how they should suffer. The Protestant doctrine of justification necessitated a change in the traditional idea of the imitatio Christi. Insofar as following Christ in suffering was considered a meritorious act of virtue it was, of course, contradicted by the Protestants.⁹² The imitatio theme, however, is found in the reformed literature on dying. According to Luise Klein, Luther took from Staupitz the particular connection of the example of Christ in his Anfechtungen with the Christian's temptations. This form of the imitatio Christi was then, mediated by Luther, taken up in other Protestant works.⁹³

Christ's example of patience and mildness, his total trust in his Father, even in the cry from the cross, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me," were to be imitated by his disciples.⁹⁴ Veit Dietrich hoped that the contemplation of the passion of Christ would be used to

produce in us this fruit, that we also crucify and kill our flesh, that is, that a daily improvement should follow, one becomes stronger in hope and faith, more zealous in love, richer in good works, more patient and obedient in suffering and the cross.⁹⁵

Luise Klein's discussion⁹⁶ of the imitatio theme, or that of contemplation of the passion of Christ, and of the interpretations of Anfechtung by Luther, Osiander, and Brenz reveals what appear to be two different threads within the motif. Christ's victory over temptation, his patience and obedience in suffering, could be understood more in the direction of an example to be imitated. It also could be seen more as, in itself, consolation for the angefochtenen Christian. The first of these brought comfort because of a sense of the companionship with Christ. Luther recommended that in temptation and trouble one remind oneself that others had gone through the same.⁹⁷ Christ, of course, was a particular example, one to "take seriously" as Calvin expressed it. He admitted:

It is not given to us that we should face death without a troubled mind; so, when we hear that he was not made of iron, we gather our forces and set out to follow him; and the weakness of our flesh which troubles us at death does not hinder us from joining our leader in battle.⁹⁸

Luther, however, needed a more radical consolation, a less "active" kind, and found it as well in Christ's passion. For Luther's deepest temptations the other would not have provided the comfort he needed.

Christ's suffering, death and resurrection prefigured the Christian's. They were a promise of what God could even do for someone like the person Luther felt himself to be. He spoke of a conformitas Christi, which was an act of God alone.⁹⁹ For Luther in Anfechtungen, Christ was an example of what God promised to do and could do, not an example of what we should do.¹⁰⁰

Few others among the reformers seem to have had such difficulty as Luther in accepting themselves as believers. Thus few others appear to have understood Anfechtung quite as he did, and few needed a consolation appropriate for one who could struggle so against acceptance of a gift. Klein points out, for example, that Brenz could imagine the experience of being abandoned by God only as that of the damned. Here, she writes, "the dreadfulness of the experience of temptation in Luther becomes clear,"¹⁰¹ for Luther could have such experience.

Variety as well as agreement may be found behind words like temptation, consolation, and faith in the reformers' writings. This plurality could not only be responsible for strife.¹⁰² It could also provide, through different ways of understanding the gospel as consolation, help in the multiplicity of situations in which comfort and support were needed. While theology set limits, there remained room for flexibility and recognition of the diverse needs of different people in the practical application of the gospel.

However, the comfort that could come through this interpretation of suffering and the cross was not meant to be cheaply or easily gained. Despair was thought a necessary precursor, though it did not always have to match Luther's in degree. Calvin described the process in a commentary on II Corinthians 1.9:

First, the fleshly confidence by which we are puffed up is so obstinate that the only way it can be destroyed is by our falling into extremities of despair....We are not brought to real submission until we have been laid low by the crushing hand of God....The roots of this evil (pride) are so deep in the human heart that even the most perfect among us are never entirely free of it, till God confronts them with death....We must begin by despairing of ourselves but only in order that we may hope in God: we must be brought low in ourselves but only in order that we may be raised up by His power....The first step should indeed be to acknowledge God as the author of life by the strength which He gives us but our dullness is such that the light of life often dazzles our eyes so that we have to look at death before we can be brought to God.¹⁰³

One approach was required for those not yet brought low. For those already reduced by the thought of death, by suffering, or by Anfechtungen another word had to be spoken, chosen to fit the particular distress. The dying, for example, might still have clung to the things of this world as much as have feared death. The love of life as avaritia was one of the standard temptations of the medieval ars moriendi.¹⁰⁴ In the works on dying from Protestant pens more energy was spent on emphasizing the benefits of death than in attacking this love of the world directly. This parallels Luther's advice not to become entangled with arguing with the devil on his own ground. More in the manner of stating a well-known fact than of seeking to persuade, the world was described as "misery", as consisting in "anxiety, distress, and death."¹⁰⁵ From such a point of view it is not surprising that heaven seemed preferable. In fact, Thomas Venatorius reasoned, when everlasting life lay beyond death and when death meant final freedom from sinning, it must be unchristian not to long for death or at least to want to be freed from "this sinful body."¹⁰⁶

Yet when this life was viewed as so miserable and full of sin, that led to another interpretation of fear of death. Thus Veit Dietrich understood it as fear of the eternal judgement of God which was to follow.

It is also painful to leave wife and child, good friends, nice houses and other things that one loves on earth and to go away from them. But that all is still nothing in comparison to this distress: that we know how we are sinners and have the judgement of God before us and now must (go) into death and can neither protect nor save ourselves. ¹⁰⁷

Here a word of forgiveness was needed, or the reassurance that it was good to recognize that one could not trust in one's own resources, or the counsel that one should not be absorbed in one's own feelings,

Death and suffering brought great uncertainty and fear of the unknown. The Protestants sought to bring reassurance without encouraging trust in one's own works or reasoning. Luther more often used forgiveness as the word to counter anxiety. Calvin, on the other hand, interpreted comfort less with the concept of forgiveness than with that of obedience to the providential will of God. His consoling belief was that God "so holds all things in his power, so rules by his authority and will, so governs by his wisdom, that nothing can befall except he determine it."¹⁰⁸ He reminded his readers in a commentary on John 7.30 that

as we live day by day the hour of our death is in God's hand. It is hard to believe (but true) that, although subject to so many accidents, exposed to evil in the hands of so many lurking men and beasts, and liable to so many diseases, we are nevertheless safe from all peril until God is ready to call us. Our part is to struggle against our own lack of trust. First, let us hold on to the truth here taught us, then next to the goal set before us, and finally to the exhortation which follows: Casting all our cares on God, let each one of us fulfill his vocation without allowing fear to turn him aside from his duty. And let no man go beyond God's purpose for him. For, it is not right that a man trust the providence of God apart from God's own will for him. 109

Trust in the providence of God was the solution for the fear of death, both as a physical event and as the entry into the unknown where the final judgement awaited one. While Luther's emphasis was somewhat different, he still instructed the person in great temptation to

thank God diligently for deeming him worthy of such a visitation, of which many thousands of people remain deprived. It would be neither good nor useful for man to know what great blessings lie hidden under such trials....Therefore, we should willingly endure the hand of God in this and in all suffering. Do not be worried; indeed, such a trial is the very best sign of God's grace and love for man. 110

God's rule in the world not only provided comfort; it was as well an explanation, if not a detailed one, for suffering. None of the reformers thought of distress, even when caused by the devil as they often described it, as beyond the power of the Creator. In this respect the section on suffering in the Lehrartikel of Nürnberg (1528) summed up common Protestant opinion:

1. That all suffering and affliction of body and soul are sent upon us by God, so that he admonishes us about our sins, urges us to repentance, tests faith and patience and crucifies and mortifies the flesh.
2. That wicked people may not touch a hair of our heads without God's will and decree.
3. That one should not get angry with those through whom God sends us the suffering, but rather pray for them.
4. That suffering and affliction are a certain sign that God loves us and considers us his children.
5. That in affliction one should zealously call upon God, for he will help so that he is given praise and thanks. 111

Death, suffering and anxiety make people uncertain and frightened, and uncertainty and fear left to fester can lead to despair. This was the chain the theology of the Protestants sought to break by explaining the meaning of suffering and fitting it into God's plan for the salvation of his people. Yet they were not only served in this by their dogma. They argued with psychological insights as well, based on experience.

The righteous are wise and well aware of the purpose of the divine will, even though it involves all kinds of adversity. They also know what their proper attitude over against this must be. They know that no enemy has ever been put to flight by a fleeing person. By the same token, no suffering or affliction or death can be overcome by impatience, flight or search for release, but only by persistently standing one's ground and by going forth boldly to face adversity and death. The saying is true: "He who fears hell will plunge into it." Thus he who is afraid of death will be eternally devoured by it. He who shrinks from suffering will suffer defeat. Fear works no good. Therefore we must be brisk and bold in these matters and stand firmly.¹¹²

Yet this was only one side of Luther's advice; he could understand the weak who could not always be "brisk and bold." They had a place at the heart of his theology.

However it belonged to the nature of the problem that it was highly complex, often ambiguous, and not waiting quietly to be vanquished. For example, the joyful certainty kindled by the "sola fide" could backfire: certainty could be distrusted as another type of temptation, for where and how could the mistrust of one's own feelings and ideas be halted?¹¹³ The Protestant reformers saw only one escape from the subtle entanglements of the devil and their own minds: the Spirit of God, speaking through the word proclaimed in the scriptures or by another person or into their hearts.¹¹⁴ Trust in the providential care of God was the consolation they offered. Caspar Huberinus' optimism had indeed a solemn tone as he described the rescue:

Your hope increases as you notice that the Lord God always faithfully stands by you. If he has already perhaps let you sink and stick there for awhile, finally he does pull you out, however long it may have been. He lets you swim and go under awhile but does not let you completely drown.¹¹⁵

Protestant ministers had to deal with people still submerged, stuck, gasping for breath, people who were swimming, and those still or again on dry land. Varied methods and equipment were therefore required. Within their brotherhood there were diverse interpretations in specific instances of the character of the dangers and of the proper and appropriate means for reassuring those awaiting rescue. Yet their common store was constituted by proclamation of the word, the sacraments, discipline, and instruction on the meaning of suffering and death. We turn now particularly to the Church Orders to learn more about the guidance given for the use of these in their ministries.

III. THE TAPESTRY OF PRACTICE*

From Catholic tradition, from Protestant appraisal and understanding of the sacraments, preaching the Word, discipline, temptation, suffering, and providence we have drawn some substantial strands relevant to our topic. These were woven into the practice of the reformed curae animarum in cases of sickness or death. Remaining in the metaphor of weaving, one might say that some of these elements were so basic that they were threads of the warp stretched on the loom. Others became the weft, and the choices of each individual having a part in this pastoral ministry, the different combinations of elements, created a many-hued tapestry.

The reformers, however, were not positively impressed by the thought of mere motley and strove to keep some order in the growing churches, to produce a pattern in the tapestry, to re-use older patterns and to present the tradition in purified, biblically-justified forms. The Bible, however, provides insufficient information to fill the whole life of the church in detailed practical terms. The leaders of the new churches were faced with uncertain, untrained or incompetent ministers as well as able, zealous, earnest ones, and with slow, superstitious, or hostile laity as well as pious, informed, obedient flocks. From a combination of Bible, custom, theology, common sense, and a view of the needs of real or hypothetical members they formulated guidelines and answers to the many problems raised through the break with Rome, her hierarchy, her liturgy, her theology and her practices.

The resulting guides and rules for the Protestants were frequently published as Church Orders, usually with legal status or at least the approval of the civil authorities. Some became influential without being officially used in the church for which they were intended (the Reformation of Cologne for example¹). Other such collections are in the form of manuals or handbooks for pastors rather than in that of Orders, strictly speaking (the Handbook of Olavus Petri and Konrad Sam's Handbüchlein²). There are fundamental similarities within the multitude of this literature - these enable us to recognize and label them as "Protestant", after all - but there is also a wide range of forms and permutations.

*The notes for this section begin on page 306.

The functions of the guides examined in the next two chapters were also varied. Some provided only a basic framework for the practice in the area in which they were in force. In some cases the provisions for the sick or the dead were minimal, and a minister wishing to take his duty of pastoral care seriously would have had to find other sources to supplement the guidance of the Church Order, if he could not do so on his own. On the other hand, there are some fascinatingly precise descriptions to help the pastor in other Orders. The most striking example is the Agendbüchlein of Veit Dietrich. Perhaps this is in part due to its not being a Church Order in the narrow sense. It had a more specific target: the village pastors in lands controlled by Nürnberg, especially one lately Roman Catholic. It did not replace the Brandenburg-Nürnberg Order of 1533, but it dealt more specifically with likely difficulties in that environment.³ Yet Dietrich's interest in the care of souls and the edification of the "common man" is probably also responsible. The personalities of individual authors, or at least their special concerns can sometimes be glimpsed in this way, but an Order is by nature a more impersonal creation and often the product of a committee effort rather than the creation of one man.

A few more descriptive than prescriptive documents are also included in the charts accompanying chapters five and six. For example, from Amberg the forms used in two of the churches and the marginal comments a pastor made on the Order used in his city which report the practices in Dinkelsbühl in the 1560's and 1570's are listed.⁴ The choice of 1570 as an end point for the charts is arbitrary in the sense that almost equally good grounds could be adduced for an earlier date. Already the 1560's had produced Orders showing less originality and more copying or repeating of parts of earlier Orders, coupled with increased elaboration and what begins to feel like a stifling precision: Orthodoxy approaches. As the churches settled into their places as established counterweights to Roman Catholicism or other Protestant groups, they developed the provisions which, along with their written confessions, established their identities. The change in atmosphere was gradual. A chart must stop at a point, however, and not gradually, so to include the 1569 Order for Memmingen, like Lindau once a city in the sphere of influence of the northern Swiss, and in this year given a Lutheran Order to crown the development since the Interim,⁵ 1570 was chosen.

As well as Orders from southern Germany and Switzerland, the charts include particularly influential ones from further north (Saxony 1539, Kurbrandenburg 1540, Mecklenburg 1552⁶), an early, detailed manual from Sweden (Olavus Petri's Handbook⁷), Orders from reformed congregations of exiles (Pullain's for the Walloon congregation in Frankfurt, à Lasco's for the Dutch in London, and the Order for the Genevan English-speaking congregation headed by John Knox, which was actually composed as they were still in Frankfurt⁸), and others of interest for comparison (Müntzer's for Allstedt and the 1549 and 1552 editions of the Book of Common Prayer⁹).

A city or territory where the reformation movement had been accepted did not necessarily introduce immediately a unified Order to be followed in its churches. A city such as Augsburg, where the Lutheran and Swiss styles of reform both had their followers and where no general agreement between them could be reached, had enormous difficulties when it came to framing a Church Order for the whole city.¹⁰ In Nürnberg, where the consensus was Lutheran very early, there was at first a variety of liturgical practice within the city which gradually decreased toward the Order of 1533.¹¹ Before official guidance was given, what were the evangelical clergy to do? The main abuses to be excised were fairly widely agreed upon, but just how far the surgery had to go before the patient could be cured was not such a generally-shared opinion.

Reformers did not begin with an empty slate when they began to organize Protestant pastoral work in their churches or in their Church Orders. When considering the Orders it is necessary to remember this; it applies as well to the pastors whom the Orders were meant to guide, and to the laity to whom they ministered. Their Catholic tradition, their own lives and those of their parishioners were not devoid of pastoral activities, ideally or actually, and not all of these were irremediably tainted. People, now that they were evangelical, were not getting sick much differently than before, nor dying less. Problems did not cease in order to give some breathing space for sorting out responses commensurate with Protestant theology. Furthermore, that theology was itself the result of a process of development which was by no means a simple linear one. A Church Order is no mere dry legal document, but the expression of an attempt to coordinate the multiple, sometimes conflicting factors in the life of a church.

Sol ich nu kranck sein, szo wil ich unserm
Hergot zuliebe und dem Teuffel zu trotz
kranck sein.¹²

Chapter 5: CHURCH ORDERS AND SIMILAR GUIDES ON VISITING THE SICK AND THE DYING*

No one seems to have suggested that the sick and dying certainly need not be visited any more after reformation. Orders for some churches do not include guidance on how this be best done or how (or whether) the sick should receive the eucharist at home, while they quite naturally considered the Sunday worship service and baptism. Lists of visitation questions, however, regularly include one asking whether the sick and dying were visited and comforted by the minister, so this was not considered unimportant. It merely seemed, no doubt, less controversial. Furthermore, the part of the pastor at the bedside was basically an extrapolation of his usual tasks, as the means used to comfort and instruct the sick and dying were those of his usual ministry, however modified in the course of transportation to the sickroom: preaching, prayer, exhortation, teaching, reading of the Bible, liturgical actions, and human sympathy.

A list of basic elements and issues which are found repeatedly in the Church Orders will serve not only to structure a discussion of these varied attempts to frame and regularize the cure of souls, but also to support the impression that many Orders had a great deal in common. This is a fact which can be too easily lost sight of in the jungle of a seemingly infinite variety of details. The different ways of expressing the same basic issue or element will be revealed in the discussion of that particular point. With numbering corresponding to that of the chart the following elements are marked:

*The notes for this chapter begin on page 307.

1. Presence of information on or guidelines for pastoral visitation of the sick.
2. Explicit suggestion that the minister should visit on his own initiative, without waiting to be called.
3. Inclusion of a section specifically on the dying in addition to that on the sick.
4. Presence of some mention of the origin, purpose, or meaning of suffering.
5. Provision for or suggestion of an exhortation to repentance (at least in certain cases).
6. Provision for some kind of confession of sins, private, specific, or general (O=Offene Beichte). Is a form given. (= M)?
7. Inclusion of absolution by the minister. Is a form provided in this section (= M)?
8. Provision for communion of the sick. Is it explicit or clearly implied that the elements ~~were~~ consecrated in the presence of the sick in the house (=H), or that they ~~were~~ brought after consecration in the church and reservation, however brief (=C)?
9. Exclusion of communion of the sick.
10. Explicit inclusion of prayer on the part of the pastor, said alone or with the sick or others ~~who were~~ present.
11. Explicit reading or quoting of Bible passages (other than those included in connection with the sacrament).
12. Provision for instruction in the faith or teaching of the church (Unterricht).
13. Inclusion of a benediction. Is a form given (=M; Aaronic blessing=A)?
14. Mention, however general, of Roman Catholic customs or superstitious beliefs, whether they could still be kept or what one ~~was~~ to do when confronted with them on the part of the laity.

		<u>Title of visiting clergy</u>		1. On the sick 2. Minister's initiative 3. On the dying 4. Meaning of suffering 5. Repentance 6. Confession 7. Absolution 8. Communion 9. No communion 10. Prayer 11. Bible 12. Instruction 13. Benediction 14. Catholic beliefs 15. Pastor's discretion 16. Material aid 17. Laity														
1528	MEMMINGEN	Diener	1															
L 1528	WEISSENBURG (BAVARIA)	Lütpriester	1															
1529	BASEL	Diacon																
L 1529	SWEDEN: Handbock (O. Petri)	Priest	1	4	5	6 ^m	7 ^m	8 ^{c?}	10 ^m	12	13 ^m	14	15	17				
1529	ZURICH: Ordnung der Kilchenn																	
L 1531	REUTLINGEN (Alber?)																	
1531	ULM		1					8 ^m	9									
1531	ULM: Handbüchlein (Sam, Blaurer?)		1					9	10 ^m									
1532	ZURICH: Praedicationenordnung	Pfarrer	1						10								17	
1532	HESEN	Predicant	1				7	8									17?	
L 1533	BRANDENBURG-NÜRNBERG (Osiander, Brenz et al.)	Priester, Kirchendiener	1		5			8 ^m	10	11	12		15					
1534	STRASBOURG	Pfarrer, Helfer, Seelsorger	1					8 ^m				14						

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

15. Explicit allowance for discretion on the part of the minister in applying the Order, for example in shortening it, or admission of the incompleteness of of the Order.
16. Instructions for the minister to give material as well as spiritual aid.
17. Expectation that lay persons visit the sick or receive instruction in order to help them.

From the chart alone one does not easily distinguish patterns in the differences among the Orders, between, for example, Reformed Orders and Lutheran ones. A closer consideration of the specific points and the way in which they are expressed is absolutely essential in this regard. Let us take the list in order.

1. On the Sick

While not all Orders include specific directions on visiting sick or dying members of the parish, the way in which it is included as obvious and natural, needing no long justification, among the duties of the minister by others and its regular appearance in visitation instructions suggest that the authors omitting specific directions in this matter nonetheless also expected a model minister to visit the ill of the parish and speak a word of comfort to the dying. These visits were not social calls, signs of the minister's goodwill meant to cheer up the sick in a rather superficial sense. The Church Orders give the impression that ministers should go to each sickbed virtually ready to prepare someone to die. Since the best preparation, it was agreed, was to be made while still of sound mind and body, or at least of the former, it was less those actually facing imminent death than the sick who could be expected to have time left to benefit from the guidance who were urged to "prepare to die". It was evidently felt that the dying did not need to be told to remember death. They rather needed more than ever the strengthening comfort of the word of God.

Since the preparation for death was a task for the healthy and an even more appropriate one for the sick, a minister could always have justified a visit to someone not noticeably marked for the grave in the near future. The question is whether he nonetheless went, and the Church Orders do not answer it. On the one hand they urged that the sick and dying be visited; on the other hand most of them do not encourage the minister to make the initial visit unasked.

The particular situation of the Dutch congregation in London made initiative on the part of the sick necessary, for

because the Dutch of our congregation live very scattered in this city London one cannot easily know if someone is sick or not. Therefore, when someone falls sick he must indicate this to the minister of the congregation through his relatives.¹³

Yet Orders for places with normal parish structures such as Brandenburg-Nürnberg 1528, Regensburg 1543, and Württemberg 1553/59 assume that the pastor is called. Noppus stressed in his Order for Regensburg that the sick person should call the pastor by day, "and not save the matter until he becomes sick in the night and there be danger of death."¹⁴ Such considerations were not merely prompted by concern for the pastor's comfort, as Luther indicated in discussing times of plague. His point was not only applicable in such crises:

If someone wants the chaplain or pastor to come, let the sick person send word in time to call him and let him do so early enough while he is still in his right mind before the illness overwhelms the patient. The reason I say this is that some are so negligent that they make no request and send no message until the soul is perched for flight on the tip of their tongues and they are no longer rational or able to speak. Then we are told, "Dear Sir, say the very best you can to him," etc. But earlier, when the illness first began, they wanted no visit from the pastor, but would say, "Oh, there's no need. I hope he'll get better." What should a diligent pastor do with such people who neglect both body and soul? They live and die like beasts in the field. They want us to teach them the gospel at the last minute and administer

the sacrament to them as they were accustomed to it under the papacy when nobody asked whether they believed or understood the gospel but just stuffed the sacrament¹⁵ down their throats as if into a bread bag.

Thus another component in this problem is how greatly a visit was desired. Piety, and possibly superstition, especially if the eucharist~~were~~ involved, were factors here. The Genevan Ordonnances ecclésiastiques complain that "some do not think in the distress of sickness to strengthen themselves in God through his word". They therefore forbid anyone to be bedridden three full days without informing the minister, or to wait until a sick person is on death's doorstep before calling him.¹⁶ Kurpfalz 1563 contains a similar provision, very possibly derived from the Genevan Order.¹⁷ This suggests that ministers were not always welcome visitors, but mention only spiritual short-sightedness as a possible reason.

The 1540 Order for Kurbrandenburg admonishes the priests and pastors not to seem avaricious and not to try to gain by gifts or through wills (which the clergy might be expected to help draw up, as the Book of Common Prayer indicates¹⁸) except what is motivated by good will "so that the people are not made timid to call these to them".¹⁹ Payment for a visit is suggested by no Order, nor does any suggest that only a certain class of people, for example those a minister regularly sees in services, are to benefit from his visits when they are ill. In instructions on communion it is often clear that those who are to be visited may never, or not very recently, have received the sacrament, or may not have much knowledge of the fundamentals of the church's teaching. The ideal is certainly that anyone in a parish may and will call upon the minister.

2. Minister's Initiative

Thus at least two problems could be connected with visiting: first, that ministers sometimes were not wanted, or at

least were not called, and second, that ministers sometimes may not have wanted to go. The Order of Brandenburg-Nürnberg of 1528 tells pastors that they should never reject a call to visit the sick, with the realistic proviso: "as much as possible".²⁰ Brenz directed in his Württemberg Order (1553/59) that requests for their services be accepted by the ministers "with all seriousness and diligence", adding that there were convincing reasons for ministers to "show and offer their goodwill and service also to the sick who do not desire them, (either) themselves or through the relatives and those attached to them."²¹ The Order from the imperial city of Donauwörth echoes Brenz.²²

Brandenburg-Nürnberg 1528 is unusual in going a step beyond this with regard to visiting. It instructs the pastors "out of Christian love and one's own motivation, as much as is possible and occasion demands, to do that uncalled upon as well."²³ While the first visit was made when called, the "deacons" in Amberg, according to the Order of 1555/57, should go on their own initiative for repeated visits if the sickness continued; Brandenburg-Nürnberg 1533 urged pastors to make repeated visits where the situation warranted it.²⁴ In Kaspar Loner's Order for Nördlingen (1544) they were to come back "as often as the sick desire".²⁵ Kurpfalz 1563, however, instructs that they were to go "often and also unrequested".²⁶ Wilhelm Pauck suggests that where no uninvited calls were made this was "to avoid the impression that people required the services of a priest when they were about to die."²⁷

Kurbrandenburg 1540 calls for the most ministerial initiative in instructions copied by Pfalz-Neuburg 1543. To motivate the clergy the Last Judgement is used as an argument. There "among other deeds the mercy of visiting the sick" will be considered by Christ. Ministers should not wait until called to go to someone who is ill, but

when they learn it (and they also make enquiries) they should, insofar as they are otherwise able, not fail to be diligent and give strength and consolation on the authority of their office ²⁸ without regarding people's ingratitude....

There was evidently at times a certain absence of zeal on the parts of both comforted and comforter.

3. On the Dying

While only two of the Orders we are considering actually have a separate discussion on the care of the dying, the close relation between sickness and death was not lost on the others, and they take into account that the sick were very possibly and very often the dying, especially for ministers who were called at the last moment. The application of the provisions of the Orders changed only in degree when the person seemed fatally ill. As said before, preparing to die was not a task appropriate only to the deathbed in the view of sixteenth-century theologians. If we do not die from one illness (by the grace of God) we shall from something else (still by the grace of God).

Yet in the face of imminent death a person benefits more than at any other time from "some consolation or teaching" say the Ordonnances ecclésiastiques, lamenting the fact that many die without this.²⁹ Kurpfalz 1563, too, finds this state of affairs most unsatisfactory.³⁰ Others echo the feeling that the need for true comfort and teaching is greater as death approaches than in mere sickness.³¹

As a source for practical advice on dealing with dying people only Veit Dietrich's Agendbuchlein of 1543 (and later in various editions and printings) seems to offer much. Basically his advice was to kneel and pray, first the Lord's Prayer, then one for the dying person for forgiveness, protection, and

salvation. At any rate, it "is no longer needful to shout long and much in the ears of those previously instructed, as is nonetheless commonly done".³²

4. Meaning of Suffering

The Orders of Brandenburg-Nürnberg of 1533, Kurbrandenburg of 1540, and Kurpfalz of 1556 each contains a separate section in which "the cross and suffering" are discussed,³³ but the topics are not entirely ignored in other Orders as is clear from the chart. As part of their suggestions or directions for what to say to the sick and dying a number mention the origin, purpose, meaning or benefits of suffering, especially sickness. This may be done briefly, in a phrase or sentence, or more amply. In the Book of Common Prayer, for example, it was slipped into a prayer in the liturgy for communion of the sick and into an exhortation in the section on visiting the sick.³⁴

Some of the theological background of this motif was discussed in chapter four. In practical terms it generally appears in the Church Orders as an exhortation to be patient. As well as being a human or moral virtue, patience took on the character of a theological virtue, possible only through recognition through faith that all suffering, in spite of or even with the temptations of Satan which accompanied it, was 'God-sent'. Patient acceptance of the will of God and even agreement to it as expressed in suffering meant acceptance of that suffering no matter what its outcome and how long that took to be decided. This meant being ready to accept continued life as well as death.

The tension between hoping to live, yet being ready to die, hoping to die, yet being ready to live runs beneath the surface of the fine but not unsympathetic admonitions to be patient. Olavus Petri begins his manual's section on visiting the sick with a model for instruction which reads in part:

Likewise thou mayest consider how wretched and melancholy is the life of this world, where we so offend our heavenly Father by our grievous sins, that of his fatherly mercy he needs must sometimes lay upon us such great pain and suffering, as thou now endurest, if we are not to be destroyed in our souls.....Therefore may we be glad that we can soon come to another life, where we offend not the gentle and good Father, and where we may be free from the craft and subtlety of the devil. So give thyself now into the power of God, dear brother (sister), and let him do with thee according to his holy will. Give thyself to his discretion, for he well knoweth when the time cometh, and when it is profitable for thee to be delivered from this life; and forasmuch as he is thy gentle and merciful Father, so be thou to him an obedient child.³⁵

Pain and suffering provided an occasion for looking deeper at life, for searching the purposes of God. These were not, they could not be meaningless for the composers of the Orders. The benefits of suffering, and patience, obedience, and the hope of escape were preached at the sickbed. The pain was too great for the reformers to demand that people rejoice in it, but they tried to communicate the consoling knowledge

that if you truely repent you of your synnes, beare your sickenes paciently, trusting in Gods mercy, for his dere sonne Jesus Christes sake, and rendre unto him humble thankes for his fatherly visitacion, submytting yourselfe wholly to his wil; it shal turne to your profite, and helpe you forewarde in the ryght waye that leadeth unto everlastyng lyfe.³⁶

Yet suffering was also a danger. Faith was understood to be a gift of God and not a human work, but a person could lose it, and the likelihood was increased under the pressure of suffering. However, one sign of loss of faith, some suggested, was impatience in suffering. Therefore it was so important, as à Lasco formulated it, to see

that God does not send sickness in vain, but so that through it one learn all the more to recognize his justice and mercy. And in this lies clearly the difference between the godless and the children of God. For all those who do not see the justice and the mercy of God in their sickness prove sufficiently that they are no children of God.³⁷

In order to recognize this it was necessary to learn or to remember "that death and everything that a person suffers because of it are the wages of sin", à Lasco continued.³⁸ Here was the core of the problem; the core of the solution was the gospel of the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. When the Protestant reformers spoke of death they were soon also speaking of justification.

An insistence that explanation of the meaning and source of suffering should be given is more often met in the Church Orders than extended models for the explanation. Jacob Andreae's Order for Rothenburg ob der Tauber instructs that the pastor "should show him why God sends the sickness to him and that it be not an indication of God's wrath, but one of grace and love toward his elected children", then quotes Proverbs 3.12: "For the Lord reproves him whom he loves, as a father the son in whom he delights."³⁹ Left with that, what would the average pastor then in turn have said to his sheep?

Veit Dietrich, as in other cases, provided more guidance, having assumed that he wrote for the less-clever, less-educated village pastor. He drew up a list of good purposes behind sickness: it reminds us of our sinful nature so we can better ourselves and turn to God for help, comfort, and patience; it keeps us from sinning because we sin less flat on our backs in bed than while running around as normal; it teaches us to pray from the heart; it makes us long for an end to the misery of this world and for eternal goods and treasures; it keeps us from being

damned with the world (cf. I Corinthians 11), but not because suffering, sickness or patience earns merit; it is a work and sacrifice of obedience, thus good and pleasing to God; finally, death frees us from this sinful and sinning body.⁴⁰ Yet, he sensibly added,

this long instruction with consoling sermon
(trostpredigt) is not written here that one
should always read it to the sick; for sickness
is often such that it won't suffer much preaching.⁴¹

It would be a challenge to combine such advice with the edificatory features of some of the other guides to pastoral duties.

5. Repentance

Repentance, often but not always connected with the administration of the Lord's Supper, is mentioned in many of these Orders. Especially Lutheran Orders lead from indication of the need for repentance into a more formal confession of sin and absolution. Yet even where no communion would follow there is provision for the possibility that the minister must preach "the law" or the deserved judgement of God to move the sick person to repentance. Calvin seems rather to have expected fear of death and terrors of conscience on the part of the sick, but he also thought that some consciences might not be dejected enough. À Lasco gave fuller guidance on what might be needed in such a situation, and recommended the Ten Commandments as useful in explaining the law. Lavater's description of the practice in Zurich, on the other hand, merely mentions exhortation to "true repentance and patience".⁴² An exhortation to repentance did not always have to be made; the minister was first to determine whether the person visited was unrepentant.

If that were the case, there followed a sequence such as that set out in the short section on communion of the sick in the Agenda for Lindau (1555):

According to what is needed, (the minister) reminds them first of their sins, for the sake of which they must endure and suffer the disease and finally death. Where they have recognized these, confessed and made clear their remorse and sorrow on their account, one comforts them from the word of God and finally strengthens their faith with the absolution.⁴³

The preaching of the comforting message of the gospel was felt to be effective for faith only when some recognition of sin, regret for past sins, and, included in the definition of "true repentance", a resolve to improve if one did not die were shown. Sin was an important subject at the time of death for the Protestant, as it was for his Catholic ancestor or contemporary. All of the Anfechtungen which illness and approaching death brought were linked with sin in some direct or indirect way. To counter these the minister had to counter the power of sin to distract the heart and mind from their proper object: Jesus Christ, crucified and risen.

If one repented, but could not believe that one was truly forgiven, the pastor was to seek to help by preaching, reading the promises of the Bible, and in some cases, using absolution. Without repentance sin had an even stronger hold. "Cheap grace" was not to be preached to delude those who had not yet recognized themselves as sinners; comforting the sick as the goal of the visit was not so superficially defined.

In only two of the Orders we are considering is there a fully-drawn model of what could be said to be unrepentant. Olavus Petri's form is a formal encouragement to acknowledge oneself as a sinner, being sure of the merciful forgiveness of God. It is followed by a long confession and prayer for forgiveness to be spoken by the priest for the sick.⁴⁴ Totally absent from these forms is any 'fire-and-brimstone' approach.

The dominant tone for visitation of the sick in all these Orders is consolation. Kurbrandenburg 1540 and Pfalz-Neuburg 1543 expressly state that when ministers visit the sick

they should not pitch into and frighten them or their families obstinately, as some are in the habit of doing if they see some deficiency, for this is not the time of terror but of consolation.⁴⁵

Veit Dietrich provided in the form of a one-sided dialogue, the pastor having all the best lines, instruction about sin,

leading to the questions: Do you confess yourself to be a poor sinner and to have done evil against God, his word, and your conscience? Are you sorry, and, if granted longer life, plan to do better? Answer: "Ja." In his next response Dietrich sounds eager to console rather than to rub in the sin: "Alright, now hear what a merciful God you have!"⁴⁶

The chances for success were increased if the contribution of the minister was suited to the particular situation. It was not recommended that a pastor walk into a sickroom and immediately launch into a pre-set formula of admonition with a call to repentance. Brenz suggested in his Order for Wurttemberg that the visitor first become aware of the sick person's situation, ascertaining what ailment and trouble he had. Was it only the physical pain which distressed him, or was it also the thought of sin and damnation? On the basis of his findings the minister could then either start by explaining divine wrath and grace, to arouse an awareness of sin and the desire for grace, or begin by comforting the already-tender conscience with the gospel.⁴⁷ As Jacob Andreae recommended a similar sensitivity he admitted that

a special skill will be demanded to discriminate among persons and to hold before each one profitably and fruitfully teaching or comfort which moves the heart, either to awaken (it) to repentance or to strengthen (it) in its Anfechtung.⁴⁸

6. Confession

No firm line can be drawn between repentance and confession, but the latter concept has more than one aspect. The word confession may translate Beichte, Busse, or Bekenntnis, and even these may have unclear, or a range of, connotations. It can mean a confession of faith, or confession of sin, or confession

of sins (in the sense of individual or specific ones rather than a recognition of one's "sinful nature"), or some combination of these.

The first meaning is found in Veit Dietrich's model for the pastor's prayer if he happens to be present as someone dies. Speaking on behalf of all who are present, he prays for the dying person, who "has openly confessed you before us, eternal God, and your Son Christ Jesus, and God the Holy Spirit."⁴⁹ An honest confession of faith in Christ was far more important than the mere act of reciting one's sins.

A confession of sin which does not detail particular personal misdeeds has been mentioned in chapter three. This is the general public confession, the Offene Beichte, or Offene Schuld.⁵⁰ This form from the normal Sunday worship service or communion preparation was used by some Orders for the communion of the sick. There it was its nature as a general confession rather than as a public one which recommended it; it was used when others were present but also when the pastor was alone with the sick person. "Wurttemberg 1536 calls for the general confession which preceded a parish communion for communion of the sick, but it was to be said privately. At an earlier point the pastor repeated the "Vermahnung", the warning of the danger to those receiving the elements without faith.⁵¹ He was then to learn from the sick person

whether he has something special to ask, to learn, or to reveal. That he should hear from him alone, and tell the people to step out, and most diligently and faithfully instruct, comfort, and strengthen him. Thereupon he recites for him the general confession (offen beicht) and absolution....⁵²

It is not said whether the others were invited to return, but the celebration of communion followed.

The possibility of a personal private confession was also maintained by Olavus Petri. Following a long prayer-cum-confession in his handbook the rubric reads:

And when the sick person hath so made his confession before God, yet hath some sin which pricketh him to the heart, and of which he would willingly be free, he may confess it before the priest and ask from him goodly counsel and absolution.⁵³

The psychological benefits of confession survived the critique of the sacramental and soteriological ones which destroyed it as a full-fledged sacrament within Protestantism.⁵⁴ Even in the church where private confession was least valued, Zurich, the opportunity was retained. It had, to be sure, a new designation and rationale, but Zwingli's "Radtforschung" appears in Bullinger's book for the care of the sick. He made clear that it was not an equivalent or substitute for confession to God. However, Bullinger wrote,

if anyone who is sick should want to ask advice (radtsfragen) of the minister or otherwise of a brother well-instructed in the word of God, and reveal to him in this form his sin and misdeed, we permit that to happen so long as it is free and does not become a compulsion and work of purging (ablegens).⁵⁵

Here it appears that the initiative is to be taken by the sick person rather than the minister or "brother". In churches less shy of the idea of private confession and absolution this was not the case, judging from the Orders.

In a pastoral care so frequently expressed as relieving the weight of the burdens of fear, guilt, and anxiety it is not surprising that listening to these fears and feelings would find a place in the guidance given pastors. However, in the Church Orders it tends to be obscured by the speeches offered him as models for instruction and exhortation. Describing listening required fewer words. Yet one does find it, as in the 1536 "Wurttemberg Order and that of Petri, or for example in Rothenburg o.d. Tauber 1559, and Strasbourg 1537-61, both of which instruct the minister to ask if anything special is on the mind of the sick person for which advice or comfort from the pastor is desired.⁵⁶ Whether ministers took that as more than a formality cannot be discerned.

At an early point in the 1526 Basel liturgy for the sick the minister tells the person that if he has something burdening his conscience which he would like to mention he should do so. The other people leave and are called back when the sick person is finished with his private confession. The Offene Beicht is then repeated, in the plural form (as is the Absolution which follows). It has quite a different form than that for the Sunday service. Later in the liturgy, just before the communion, there is an exhortation that the sick person forgive others who have done something against him or her and to pray for forgiveness for his or her own misdeeds. This is also a confession of the intention to live as a Christian if health be restored, and of the desire to "unite with all Christians in receiving the precious sacrament." The person answers: yes.⁵⁷

The Book of Common Prayer (1549 and 1552) also has a similar provision in the section on visitation of the sick. Thereby "the sicke person (shall) make a speciall confession, yf he fele his conscience troubled with any weightie matter."⁵⁸ In the earlier Prayerbook the forms for communion of the sick replaced those for visitation whenever the sick person communed at home, to save time. Then only "the appoynted generall confession" was used. The later Order, however, provides that with communion in the house only the part of the visitation form after the confession, absolution and a prayer was to be omitted. Thus the "speciall confession" was still offered in the liturgy. No form for a general confession is then mentioned, though the exhortation may perhaps be seen as functioning as one.⁵⁹

We find confession not only as a regular liturgical act before communion but also as a condition placed on reception of the eucharist. Veit Dietrich was explicit that communion should be given only to those who have first either confessed their faith or who willingly receive instruction about the meaning of the sacrament and of faith. The Orders illustrate the strength of the pedagogical instinct of the sixteenth-century reformers, Lutheran and Reformed. There were those

who have not been to church services or taken communion for a long time, who perhaps could not say the Lord's Prayer or the Commandments, but who still wished to receive the sacrament when they lay sick. They were, according to Dietrich, first to confess their sins and to be instructed in the meaning of the Lord's Supper. A third category was composed of those who were to confess their sins and promise not to repeat them. These were those living in open sin and public vice.⁶⁰

In Reformed Orders as well is found the fear that communion be given automatically and unthinkingly. The Order for Kassel (1539) prescribes that

where there are sick people who previously have not adhered to the church and have despised the holy sacraments, they should be faithfully instructed and admonished to recognition and repentance of their godless being and not provided with the holy sacrament unless they prove sufficient signs of true, heartfelt penitence and also agree, when the Lord helps them up, that they betake themselves to the pastor and elders in a body, and there deplore their previous scorn for the church, ask for grace and forgiveness and reconcile themselves thus with the church and thereupon also wish to go to the table of the Lord in the church....And where the ministers be called to the sick too late or otherwise find no proper indication of remorse and desire for the holy sacrament, there they should also not throw that sacred thing and pearl of God before anyone to be scorned.⁶¹

While not all the Orders which accept communion of the sick in their homes include confession, those in which no such communion is found also fail to mention confession. The Genevan Orders, the Ordonnances ecclésiastiques and La Forme des Prières, are equally silent on both confession and communion, as is the Zurich Praedicantenordnung of 1532,⁶² though we have seen that Bullinger allowed an opportunity for a kind of confession, but without formal absolution.

7. Absolution

Absolution traditionally followed a confession of sins and the Church Orders, as we have just seen, make frequent mention of it in that context. Often they do not offer a model but obviously expected the minister to use the usual absolution, either that from after the general confession in public services or, in others, that used after private confession. Olavus Petri, with consistent thoroughness in providing forms, gives a form of absolution. It is set within a "comfortable exhortation" explicating forgiveness and urging:

Here shalt thou put full trust and faith in that which I have spoken; it is God's own word that I have spoken according to God's commandment. It is most important that thou dost put faith and trust in that which hath been spoken; for, as thou dost believe that compassion shall be shown to thee, so shall it be; if thou dost not believe, then shall it not be so. All now doth depend upon faith, for by faith is man saved.⁶³

Such a form clearly serves a second function as well: instruction.

This clause linking the effectiveness of the absolution to the recipient's faith is met again, more sharply stated, in the absolution of the sick before communion in the Order of 1555 for Augsburg. It is a formal and brief statement:

In order that you now may do this (commend yourself to God's hands) all the more confidently and surely, I proclaim to you as ordained minister of our Lord Jesus Christ the forgiveness of all your sins in the name of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Amen. May it be done to you now as you believe.⁶⁴

Interestingly, this does not follow a confession but instruction, probably due to word-to-word borrowing from another Order, which could produce awkwardness as the pieces were put together.

Veit Dietrich connected faith and absolution as well, but differently from both Petri and the Augsburg Order. After confession, which was in the form of the affirmative answer to

the question 'Do you confess yourself a sinner,' the pastor went on to preach the gospel. Then he asked if the sick person believed on Christ, and responded to the affirmative in this way:

If you believe this, then I absolve you in the name of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit from all your sins and do not doubt that which I now say to you in place of God⁶⁵

"The Wurttemberg Order of 1553/59 does not provide the text for the absolution in the section on the sick, but clearly refers the user to the usual absolution printed earlier in the Order, just as it did for the confession text. A further parallel between normal parish practice and that at the sickbed is the suggestion that when possible the confession and absolution of the sick be done "a day or at least a few hours before reception of the sacrament".⁶⁶ This reflects the arrangement in "Wurttemberg where public and private confession and absolution were to be held the evening before the celebration of the eucharist in a parish. While many Orders were influenced by "Wurttemberg 1553, it appears that among those in our list only Kurpfalz 1556 took over this idea of a lapse of time between absolution and communion of the sick."⁶⁷

The predominance of Lutheran Orders among those having an absolution in the service for the sick is obvious. While the Strasbourg Orders mention no absolution, Bucer included one in a work on how to visit the sick. He specified that

whether the sick request and receive such private instruction and comfort or not, absolution must nevertheless always be imparted to them as a corporate act of the Church and therefore not without the presence of the rest of the gathering to represent the Church of Christ Accordingly, after we have finished giving instruction and comfort privately to the sick person, before we repeat the absolution to him, we should call together those who normally keep him company along with all the household and others suited for such a sacred proceeding....⁶⁸

The Orders for Hessen almost all include absolution as well. The Kassel and Ziegenhain Orders give no forms, but like Bucer, they present absolution as being an act of the church.⁶⁹ Hessen 1566 has a form including not only the sick person in its reference. It follows the quotation of passages from the Bible, and begins with reference to them:

On the basis of this promise I declare you with all others who are present and truly believe, by the power of your faith and divine promise free (frei, ledig und los) from all sins. In the name of God the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.⁷⁰

Though others were present, the church has disappeared and the faith of the individual and the promise are central in the absolution.

The Basel liturgy for the sick of 1526 is an exception to Swiss Orders with regard to confession and absolution as it is in the case of communion of the sick. It gives a form of the Sunday general absolution which is altered to better fit the situation of the sick and dying. The church is not mentioned. It is a statement of trust in the mercy of God, who "for us sent his Son as a certain pledge (underpfandt)". It mentions the thief on the cross, and "not alone forgiveness of all sins, (but) also the entry into life." The minister then continued: "In such faith I pronounce you, dear brother, with all those who are present here and truly believe, through the power of the divine promise, free (ledig und loss) from all sins, in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, Amen."⁷¹

8. Communion

Since according to Protestant theology a last communion or communion while sick has no direct effect on salvation, the overwhelming desire of most reformers to keep such communion put them in the position of recommending and making provision for the eucharist without encouraging "superstitious" beliefs about its effects on the one hand, and, on the other, encouraging

people not to ignore the sacrament and their pastor when sick. And there, somewhere between the devil of the papacy and the sea of spiritualism, they drew up their various plans for communion of the sick.

Nearest the devil one finds the conservative Lutheran Orders. From our list these are Kurbrandenburg 1540 and the Handbock of Olavus Petri. The latter has the words of institution read as "the Epistle" (I Corinthians 11.23-29) and then adds that the priest "may read... for the comfort and further confirmation of the sick person" a version of the institution of the Lord's Supper collated from Matthew, Mark and Luke. These are Petri's own insertion, according to Yelverton's marginal marks. Next is a question of the priest, taken from the medieval Manuale Lincopense: "Dost thou fully believe that this is the body and blood of Jesus Christ which thou dost receive? Answer. Yea." The administration of the elements follows with the formula from the Manuale Aboense modified and used then for the wine, too.⁷²

Is this communion with elements consecrated at the sickbed or with reserved elements brought after consecration at the church? Petri did not clearly specify, but the absence of an unambiguous consecration, considering the conservative nature of the manual in general, is certainly suggestive. Yelverton sensibly comments that it "was apparently administered from the Reserved Sacrament," though Petri's 1528 work Een liten boock om Sacramenten shows that he intended to introduce consecration in the house, for reservation there.⁷³

In Lutheran Nurnberg, according to Smend, there was a period in the 1520's when the reservation and carrying of the elements to sick were so thoroughly condemned that no communion of the sick was separately administered. By the time of the

Church Order of 1528, however, reservation was forbidden but not communion of the sick, and consecration was to take place "in the presence of those communing".⁷⁴ This was the custom in most Lutheran churches.⁷⁵

The Kurbrandenburg Order of 1540 provides that in the cities consecration shall take place in the church and then "with proper reverence" the elements shall be taken to the sick, the pastor wearing his surplice (Chorrock), a sacristan carrying a light and bell accompanying him. In the small towns and villages, however, there was to be no reservation or transporting of consecrated elements.⁷⁶ Here liturgical or theological opinion must bend before the undeniable facts of rural life:

First, the streets are everywhere totally impassable, deep and muddy, so that one must every now and then go over bad, foul paths and climb over fences and hedges. Also some parishes have villages that belong (to the parish), or filiale, wherein there are no churches, which lie a half or whole mile away from one another. Nor are the priests everywhere of the same carefulness and capacity in going and carrying; also (they) have not always people at hand who would go with them, especially where it would occur at night, as often happens in a time of dying (=epidemic) and otherwise.

Thus it is also even less the proper thing that the priest, at night or by day, should ride or go from one village to another with the consecrated sacrament, for much accidental danger, frustration and obstacles could arise from that. Thus it could also well happen while the priest consecrated the sacrament in the church that such an accident met the sick person that he could not receive it.⁷⁷

When this section was taken as it stands into the Order of 1543 for Pfalz-Neuburg, where conditions in the country evidently were no better, it was no longer applied just to villages. There it is used to support a general prohibition against carrying "the holy, precious sacrament through the lanes and across the land".⁷⁸

Kurbrandenburg 1540 directs that only when the sick were too weak to come to the church were the elements to be taken to them. If they could come, though not to the congregation's gathering, a private communion could be held in the church at a convenient

hour. The Order says nothing about others being present, but when a sudden consecration was necessary for the sick at home this was to be done in the church "in the presence of those who are available there, as witness", so that the passage about two or three gathered in the Lord's name was fulfilled.⁷⁹ Presumably at least the one who had come to call the priest was there, and the sacristan.

That the sick should commune in the church if possible was also the preference of the Book of Common Prayer (1549 and 1552). If the priest was to come to the house, notice was to be given the night before or early in the morning, and the number of those who planned to commune was also to be reported.⁸⁰ The presence of more than just the minister and the sick person was a key element in the issue of reserving the sacrament. Opinions on reservation were not strictly divided on the lines of what we could term 'high church' and 'low church' tendencies.

The Kurbrandenburg Order is a very conservative one throughout. For example, during communion of the sick, the priest should hold the paten under the host as he gave it. Then, after the communion he should wash his fingers over the chalice and give the ablution to the sick or to someone else to drink.⁸¹ Yet the priest was not to be alone when consecrating the elements. Most reformed authors were determined not to allow 'hole-and-corner masses' (Winkelmessen), and some Lutherans felt called upon to explicitly combat the suggestion that their private communion was such a thing. Technically, perhaps, it was not, since someone other than the priest or pastor who consecrated the elements communed; Württemberg 1536 makes precisely this point.⁸² In southern Germany, over which the influences of Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, Calvin, Zwingli and various reformers of more radical persuasions flowed, a church life particularly sensitive to challenges from other Protestants was created. Defenses sometimes became rather aggressive. Erhard Schnepf, who worked with, beside, and sometimes against Ambrosius Blaurer in reforming Württemberg, wrote of the sick with an indignation one seems to hear still:

It is not proper that one denies them the precious Sacrament, or that they rob themselves of such grace, because of their citizen's right and proper share of the Supper of the Christian community (gemein), which they cannot visit because of the weakness of their body, should not in any way be denied or cut off from them as members of the Christian community. They are also citizens of the heavenly Jerusalem, and fellows of the Lord's Supper (which is) rich in grace....

So the sick person is not excommunicatus because of his illness, but rather is much more because of the sickness, much more if he believes, in communione omnium sanctorum. Therefore the Sacrament Communis (sic) belongs to him as well, and for comfort of his conscience should in no way be held back from him. ⁸³

Johannes Brenz in the Order of 1553/59 for the same territory reasoned in a similar vein and stated that

a church of Christ would also be where a minister and a sick man are found together in the name of Christ. So the sick person who truly believes in Christ is not less a member of Christ and the church than a healthy one, and also has his right (Gerechtigkeit) to the benefits of the Christian church, not the least of these being the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, just as well as the healthy....⁸⁴

Others, it appears, were more concerned that there should be more than two present, despite Matthew 18.20. From their Orders one can gather that there were two reasons for wanting others than the minister to be around the sickbed. First there was the oppositeside of the desire for it not to be a "Winkelmesse": concern for the community and the importance of the church as a distinguishable body. Second, there was the chance to reach more than just the sick person with the instruction and the lessons to be learned from the situation of illness. Among these Orders there are those with reservation of the elements and those with consecration in the house.

Pullain prescribed for the congregation of Walloons in exile in London and Frankfurt in his Liturgia sacra the taking of the elements from the church to the sick on the same day

that the eucharist was celebrated in the congregation. Yet the presence of others not merely watching but also communing at the time of distribution to the sick is included.⁸⁵ Lambert of Avignon envisioned a celebration in the house of the sick, but suggested in his Reformatio Hassiae that if possible the minister should call some of the "brethren" (fratres) to commune with the sick person.⁸⁶

The Book of Common Prayer in its editions of 1549 and 1552 presents two different positions on reservation of the elements. A rubric in the earlier Prayerbook which was omitted in 1552 reads:

And yf the same daye there be a celebracion of the holy communion in the churche, then shall the priest reserve (at the open communion) so muche of the sacrament of the body and bloud, as shall serve the sicke person, and so many as shall communicate with hym (yf there be any). And so soone as he conveniently may, after the open communion ended in the church, shall goe and minister the same, firste to those that are appoynted to communicate with the sicke (yf there be any), and last of all to the sicke person himselfe.⁸⁷

If no public communion service was held on the same day the priest was to come in the morning and the celebration was held in the house. In the 1552 Prayerbook the latter possibility was the only one. Instead of having the curate "reverently celebrate" this edition uses the phrase "reverently minister" and adds the qualifying phrase "(having) a good nombre to receyve the communion with hym". Both books expect others to be present, but 1552 mentions it as a "just impediment" to receiving the sacrament if a person lacks company to receive it with him.⁸⁸ Nonetheless, the first Prayerbook has its own way of emphasizing that presence of others is desirable, and it alone contains the direction and explication that

the sicke person shall all wayes desyre some, eyther of his owne house, or els of his neyghbours, to receyve the holy communion with hym; for that shall be to hym a singular great coumforte, and of theyr parte a great token of charitie.⁸⁹

A unique suggestion among our Orders is that of the 1549 Prayerbook that if more than one person were to be visited and communed on any day, the curate consecrate in one house and then

reserve so much of the sacrament... as shall serve the other sicke persons, and suche as be appoynted to communicate with them (yf there be any). And shall immediatly cary it, and minister it unto them.⁹⁰

In his Censura from 1550-51, a commentary on the 1549 Book of Common Prayer, Bucer uttered no objections to these two forms of reservation. Properly received,

the communion of the Lord, and especially from his own holy table, is of no slight value in consoling disturbed consciences.⁹¹

This is clearly not necessarily approval of the traditional practice of continual reservation, but it was at least acceptance of the brief reservation explicitly mentioned in the Prayerbook. Peter Martyr also reviewed this edition and took quite another position on reservation. Rejecting it himself, he was surprised that Bucer had not so much as criticized it.⁹² Actually, neither this nor the second edition in 1552 explicitly forbade the traditional manner of longer reservation between consecrations in order to take the sacrament to the dying when there was no time to be lost.⁹³ The lack of any guidance on reservation in the 1552 Prayerbook was probably intended to be more of a discouragement than an encouragement of the practice, but the first Book of Common Prayer was not condemned.⁹⁴ The vagueness of the term "minister" makes interpretation difficult. Charles Harris considers the various possibilities and concludes that

it would seem that the 1552 Revisers deliberately chose this word, hoping that (since Reservation was no longer mentioned) most priests would understand it in the sense of "celebrate," but taking the risk that some - they hoped only a few - would understand it in its stricter sense as a direction to "distribute" the Reserved Sacrament.⁹⁵

The ecclesiastical situation in England cannot simply be transferred to the continent with the accompanying assumption that the absence of specific rejection of reservation of the

sacrament indicates toleration of the traditional practice, just cleansed perhaps of some abuses. This Harris seems to try to do. Using as a basis a letter from Luther to Joachim II of Brandenburg, written in the context of Joachim's attempts to reform his territory in such a way as to not seem to be breaking with the Catholic faith too drastically,⁹⁶ Harris claims the Lutherans generally followed Luther's advice and in very few of their Orders "prescribe or even mention Reservation. On the other hand, they do not forbid it, but discreetly 'leave a loophole' for it, as did the 1552 English Book."⁹⁷

In this letter, however, Luther did not recommend that nothing be said in the Order about carrying the consecrated elements to the sick in order to "leave a loophole" for keeping the practice. Rather he put conditions on its continuation: it could be allowed to continue as a custom if done so "without superstition" (which meant without processions, veneration, and magical notions about its necessity or effect), if both elements ~~were~~ carried, and if it be taken "from the altar in the mass and not set in the ciborium". Further, this was just "until one can do better".⁹⁸ Luther could see reasons for letting the practice continue in this situation, but did not support it in principle. In a sense it is true, as Harris writes, that Luther preferred "that controversy and criticism should be avoided by saying nothing about it in the published Service Books".⁹⁹ However, he was not protecting reservation, as Harris manages to suggest, but trying to protect the Elector's reformation.

That Harris has made a groundless assumption about the Lutherans and reservation is supported not only by Luther's letter to Joachim II, but also by the reactions of Melanchthon and the other Protestant theologians at the colloquy in Regensburg in 1541.¹⁰⁰ Even if Bucer was prepared there to compromise on transubstantiation and adoration of Christ in the sacrament and the following statement is from his pen,¹⁰¹ it still is definitely not an approbation of continuous reservation of the bread:

Nonetheless, since many abuses have accumulated around the established usage, also empty trust in the act of viewing, we do not approve of this use and we wish ... that the people may be taught diligently about the true use of this great divine gift.¹⁰²

Melanchthon and the other theologians on the Protestant side were even less conciliatory on this point, and refused to allow transubstantiation, adoration or reservation.¹⁰³ The list of the theologians in Regensburg for the Protestants shows that not only the Lutherans opposed the traditional manner of reservation: besides Melanchthon and Bucer, Pistorius (Hessen), Cruciger (Wittenberg), Schnepf, Cellarius (Augsburg), Brenz, Musculus (Augsburg), Frecht (Ulm), Veit Dietrich, Calvin, and Amsdorf (Magdeburg), among others, were present.¹⁰⁴

Brief reservation, where the elements were taken directly from the altar or Lord's Table to the sick after consecration in the public service was a different matter, as we have seen from Luther's letter to Joachim II and in Pullain's Liturgia sacra. Beza's support for such reservation seems to have had its source in the interest in the church as a community and in the unity of a member, even when sick, with the church, which is especially characteristic of southern German and Swiss theologians. He saw this kind of communion of the sick as "one and the same action" with the normal communion service. If this could not be done on the same day he preferred consecration in the house with other communicants besides the sick present.¹⁰⁵ This again points to the eucharist as a bond between the community of Christ and the individual.¹⁰⁶

By viewing the distribution of the elements to the sick and the congregational eucharist as a unity Beza avoided one of the problems which led Calvin in the Institutes to recommend not practicing reservation. The reserved sacrament was useless, he wrote. Either the words of consecration were not heard by the sick, meaning it was no proper sacrament since the word containing the promise must accompany the elements for the

sacrament to be of any use to us, or they were said once again and that was consecration. Even in the face of opposing evidence on reservation in the early church, Calvin nonetheless recommended following "the truth" and avoiding reservation.¹⁰⁷ In a letter in 1561 Calvin mentioned several precautions which should be taken when communing the sick to avoid abuses. The family, household and neighbors were to be present so that the institution of Christ was observed, and the "mystery of the sacrament" was to be explained. Care must be taken that it was not requested for reasons of superstition or ostentation, and judgement exercised, for some should receive it only when in danger of death. Carrying the sacrament around with pomp Calvin found intolerable, and he believed it a perversion to carry it from the church.¹⁰⁸ A little over two years later he wrote Olevianus in Heidelberg that communion of the sick was actually a part of the public celebration. He was cautious, declaring that its administration to the sick should be selective and seldom, that others be present, and that the liturgy of the usual communion be followed. Again he attacked carrying the bread in procession to the sick. While aware of arguments against communion of the sick at home, he was moved more by his conviction that faith could be strengthened through the sacrament for the spiritual struggles. Those sick for a long time and near death needed that.¹⁰⁹

However, Calvin, though he spoke highly of the consolations the sacrament could give the sick, could not move Geneva to allow communion of the sick, as we shall see in the next section. In the Church Order for the city of Ulm (1531) it is allowed specifically as a sign of bringing a sick or dying person into or back into the fellowship of the church if it is especially desired by the sick.¹¹⁰ Here again is the communal aspect of the eucharist, which this Order states "should be held principally in the parish (in der gmain)".¹¹¹ The Ulm Order restricts communion of the sick more than, for example, Basel and Strasbourg. This indicates, in an Order which Bucer, Oecolampadius, and Ambrosius Blaurer helped develop, the presence

in Ulm of Zwinglian influences, which opposed communion in the home of the sick person.

The Strasbourg Order of 1534 allows communion to be given to those likely to die who have

not yet received the communion of our Lord in the holy Sacrament... and therefore have not yet proved themselves to be one bread and one loaf with the other believers,¹¹²

if they show that they have the proper attitude toward it. The pastor was to see, however, that several others took communion with himself, his helper, and the sick person. Those who usually communed in the parish services could also receive the eucharist when ill if their understanding of it was proper and non-superstitious, but the pastor was to have the advice and consent of the Kirchenpfleger, the preacher, and one of the Examinatoren. The basic principles were: that there be no lessening of the respect for the congregational communion, no superstition, and that "with sick people all is to be done out of Christian consolation, without much disputation".¹¹³

Besides permitting celebration of the eucharist with those "who Christianly desire" it when ill, some of the Strasbourg Orders between 1537 and 1561 also add explicitly that those not previously in communion with the church may receive the sacrament when sick if they have turned to the Lord, so that they may be helped by the fellowship with Christ.¹¹⁴

Kassel 1539, influenced by Bucer though not written by him, similarly allows communion of those who before their illness were accustomed to commune and those who were not. Those not needing reconciled to the church are to be joined in receiving the sacrament at home by those standing about, who are to be admonished to be willing to receive it "so that it be therefore a proper communion."¹¹⁵ The fear that the central significance of the communion as the joining of the person to the Body of Christ would be obscured produced in this group of Orders the repeated reminder that everyone - the congregation, the sick,

the people at the sickbed - be told that the usual celebrations in the congregation were not to be ignored.¹¹⁶

The section on visiting the sick in Basel's Order of 1529 is so brief that one cannot conclude that others were or were not expected to be present, nor whether the sacrament was consecrated in the parish service or in the homes of the sick. It merely states that priest and deacon should visit the sick, comfort them with the word of God, and "where the sick desire the Lord's Supper, communicate them (inen das mittheylen)".¹¹⁷ The Form und gestalt of 1526, on the other hand, does not mention who should perform the liturgy, but it includes communion with consecration in the house. The bread was to be distributed with the words:

The undoubted faith which you have in the death of the body of Christ, serve you unto eternal life.

And the wine:

The faith which you have in the shed blood of Christ, the remembrance (widergedechnuss) you hold, be profitable to you for the removal of the pain and guilt of your sin.

Then follows an admonition which indicates the emphasis in the interpretation of the communion of the sick:

... here you have declared (bezeugt) yourself a brother, and you are now a member of the body of Christ.¹¹⁸

The stress on the visible community is not so strong as in some other Orders we have considered. Though other people appear to have been present at the sickbed, since they were sent out and brought back in at the stage of the confession, there is no suggestion that they communed.

"Wurttemberg 1553/59 is unusual among Lutheran Orders on the chart in explicitly mentioning the family, neighbors and others present at the sickbed. They are to be there, receive the eucharist, or at least pray "and thereby be reminded of their future need (Not)".¹¹⁹ Here we have moved from the

emphasis on the community to the second reason for others to be at the sickbed in addition to priest and patient: the chance for edification of a number of people.

Without astonishment we also meet this in Orders influenced by Bucer. The admonition to the bystanders to take communion with the sick in the Kassel Order commences with the observation that

since they see there before their eyes the rod of the Lord, which they perhaps have deserved more strictly than the sick man whom it now visits, that they pray to God with the sick for grace.¹²⁰

In the directions on visiting, the minister is told to find in the instruction and exhortation of the sick a basis for making "earnest admonitions" to repentance and fellowship with the church to all those in the house.¹²¹ In the Reformation of Cologne the pastor is instructed to explain the Bible verses he is to read "for the comfort of the sick, and for teaching and admonishing those standing around". The sign for him to stop is to be the condition of the sick person and how much he or she (and not the bystanders) can bear.¹²²

The Lutheran Order of 1555 for Augsburg turns the pastor away from the patient and to the others to an even greater extent. As the table for communion is prepared by covering it with a cloth the pastor may turn to those around the bed and hold a speech which causes one to wonder what the one in the bed felt if he or she overheard it. It begins:

It is a special work of divine love, dear Christians, to us poor sinful people, that God sets before us, besides his beloved sacred word, daily examples of sick and dying people to keep us thereby in constant repentance, and does not carry (us) away immediately in crowds in his wrath as we nonetheless daily would deserve. Therefore we who are Christians should gladly be around the sick and dying, take their example well to heart and learn all sorts of things from it.¹²³

The Order then elaborates on these things we can learn:

- 1) the source of death, i.e., sin, etc., things we should think of when with the sick and dying to humble ourselves and bring ourselves to repentance and piety;
- 2) to think of the grace we receive through Christ;
- 3) to thank God, with the sick, for his benefits.¹²⁴

Unfortunately one cannot discern from the Church Orders whether the urge for edification was as strong in those for whom they were in the end intended as it was in those who wrote them.

Another issue arising in connection with administration of the eucharist to the sick was the question of administration of only one or of both elements. On the one hand, both elements could cause difficulties for carrying the consecrated elements to the sick, for wine, of course, was not so easily transportable as the bread and respect for the sacrament still demanded careful handling of the consecrated bread and wine. Kurbrandenburg 1540 specifies that "the viatico or container" in which the priest will carry the sacrament through the city be "so prepared to carry (the elements) well in both kind".¹²⁵

On the other hand, reception of both elements was a dogmatic point which had become an identification mark of Protestantism. In the early days of the reformation in Nürnberg, in 1524, the head pastors of the churches of St. Sebald and St. Lorenz agreed that people should be permitted at communion to receive just the bread, or both bread and wine, as they chose. In 1528 it was still allowed by the Order for Brandenburg and Nürnberg to give communion in one kind if the person could not be convinced of his error, until further preaching gradually rooted out such papist abuses.¹²⁶ By 1543, however, Veit Dietrich was firmly instructing, even for areas until recently Roman Catholic, that the sacrament be given to the sick in both kind or not at all. He continued with the ingenious suggestion

that if someone, due to sickness or from normal habit, did not wish to drink the wine, a drop or two from the chalice should be put in their drinking water and thus given to them. This suspiciously magical touch is reduced to a dogmatic one by the further statement that these people could, instead of receiving the elements, hold to the word and a spiritual taking of the sacrament, as could those who could not eat or drink or retain the elements if they received them.¹²⁷

Weissenburg, a free imperial city between Nurnberg and Augsburg, was in the sphere of influence of the former city so far as the reformation was concerned, and accepted in 1533 the Brandenburg-Nurnberg Church Order. Before that, in 1528, an Order prepared for Weissenburg had been sent to Nurnberg for approval. First Andreas Osiander was given the Order by the Nurnberg Council; afterwards others of the city's clergy saw it and agreed with his view. This was that on the whole it was acceptable, but that in two points it was somewhat too radical: the refusal to administer the sacrament unless both elements were taken, and the complete abolition of vespers. These two were then evidently adjusted before the Weissenburg Council agreed to the Order.¹²⁸

Considering this background, one is surprised to find in the 1528 Order's section on communing the sick mention of only one element. The instructions to the Weissenburg clergy, based on the argument that the sacrament "is bound to no place or time", are that the minister when called to a sickbed

should go there, take the bread with him, at the beginning investigate and explore the sick man's faith. Upon which proper confession he should prepare in front of the sick the comforting Lord's Supper, and hold the table of the Lord in front of the sick, thus comfort and strengthen him in the sickness, prepare him to patiently suffer and die.¹²⁹

There seems to have been no comment on this from the Nurnberg ministers, whose 1528 Order after all allowed the administration of just the bread at communion. Yet the Weissenburg clergy

tended to be more radically Protestant than those of Nurnberg.["] That they would have seen this rubric as a suggestion that the sacrament could be taken to the sick in one kind only seems doubtful, especially if they were normally prepared to refuse communion in one kind. Perhaps under the term bread both elements were understood.¹³⁰

Even such a simple pattern as the Weissenburg Order sets out demanded a certain amount of time, and there are some forms for visiting and communing the sick which were so long that for that reason alone they could not always have been used. Besides allowing a minister to use his discretion in omitting or shortening parts if the situation demanded, Orders could explicitly give a form for a quick communion. This is what Kurbrandenburg 1540 and Kurpfalz 1556 have, and it is not unlikely that these basics would have been used elsewhere when it was advisable to hurry: the Lord's Prayer and the words of institution.¹³¹

The Book of Common Prayer (1549 and 1552) also gave the minister guidance for a situation where someone "eyther by reason of extremitie of sicknesse, or for lack of warnyng geuen in due tyme, to the curate," or for other reasons could not commune. Then

the curate shall instruct hym, that yf he doe truely repent hym of his sinnes, and stedfastly beleve that Jesus Christ hath suffered death upon the crosse for hym, and shed his bloud for his redempcion, earnestly remembring the benefites he hath therby, and geving hym hertie thanks therfore: he doeth eate and drynke spiritually the bodye and bloud of our savioure Christe, profitably to his soules helth, although he doe not receyve the sacrament with his mouth.¹³²

This possibility of "spiritual reception" which the Church Order for Ulm, the Strasbourg Order of 1534, Veit Dietrich's "Agendbuchlein", and the Swedish Kyrkieordninghen also mention was usually backed up with the Augustinian phrase "believe and you have eaten". It was nothing specifically Protestant, as we have seen.¹³³

Many of the communion practices we find in the Orders are not specifically Protestant when superficially described. The aims and reasoning behind them must be known in order to interpret them accurately.

9. No Communion

A more stringent interpretation of "spiritual communion" was also possible. Even a form of reservation stressing the sick person's continued membership in Christ's Body and confession of that could not win the Zwinglians for administration of communion to the sick. Calvin would have liked to have the sick commune at home and wrote in 1558:

That by us in Geneva the communion of the sick is not customary displeases me, too, and it is not my fault that those who are departing this life are robbed of this consolation. But while the custom to hold no communion with the sick already stood so firmly that a change would only have been possible after hard struggle, I wanted rather to keep the peace, especially because I saw that it would have created trouble not only in Geneva. It would have started a hard fight with the neighbors in Bern and gained me slanderous gossip, as though I made salvation dependent upon an external symbolic action.¹³⁴

For Zwingli, however, the eucharist was not a means of consolation¹³⁵ and it belonged in the context of the whole community. Thus the Zurich Praedicantenordnung of 1532 has no mention of administration of the sacrament to the sick, and Ludwig Lavater's De ritibus et institutis, the most influential expression of the position of the Zurich church, mentions it only to limit it to the public gathering of the church.¹³⁶ In this they did not agree with the practice in Basel, and the latter church seems not to have shifted to a form in agreement in Zurich.¹³⁷

One of the followers of Zwingli's lead was Konrad Sam of Ulm, who produced for his city in 1531 a handbook which contrasts

with the Order for the city of the same year, though it does not precisely conflict with the Order for which it provided full liturgical orders for marriage, baptism and communion.¹³⁸ Sam stated in his handbook that no scriptural basis can be found for communion of the sick. He would rather have one say to the sick:

Let go of everything and hang with firm faith on Christ alone. Believe he died for you, too, and poured out his blood for you and then you have eaten his flesh and drunk his blood for forgiveness of sins and to eternal life, as Christ himself taught throughout John 6. This is the proper and true viaticum or provision for the journey (wegfertigung).¹³⁹

This re-interpretation of the meaning of the concept is an unusual mention of the sacrament as viaticum in these Orders. The Strasbourg Order of 1534 discountenances false notions of the eucharist at the sickbed and includes among these the idea that the sacrament should be taken for its own sake as a "wegspeiss", that is, viaticum, or for alleviation of the illness.¹⁴⁰

Some of the reasons for the discontinuance of communion of the sick outside the congregational eucharist came from dogmatic principles. Some, however, are probably better characterized as reaction to the welter of superstitions which had gathered around the practice. While à Lasco indicated that the sick person should be comforted by being reminded of the meaning of "the consoling mystery of his baptism and of the Lord's Supper", nonetheless no communion was held with the sick.¹⁴¹ The word was thought to be sufficient, and replaced the action.

10. Prayer

The Lord's Prayer, prayed only by the pastor, or with the sick person or others joining in, was most often used at the bedside of the sick. Some Orders refer to the usual prayers

accompanying the communion, such as the thanksgiving afterwards, or provide models for their ministers for prayers at various points of a visit. We have mentioned Veit Dietrich's recommendation of prayer as the response of a pastor who happens to be with someone as he dies. His short and simple prayer is as follows:

Lord God, heavenly Father, you have promised us through your Son Christ that where two among you become one (= agree) on earth about what they want to ask, that shall be done to them by my Father in heaven (Matt. 18.19). On such a promise we pray for N. present (here), your servant, for baptized in the name of Jesus he has publicly confessed before us. Graciously accept him, forgive him his sin, graciously protect him in all temptation and save him eternally. Through Jesus Christ, your Son and our Lord. Amen.¹⁴²

À Lasco directed that after the sermon in the congregational worship service the sick were to be prayed for. After recovery the minister was to again publicly thank God for the return of health "with a prayer that he not misuse his health and that when he rises for the first time after his illness he comes with the congregation to the sermon, for God cannot suffer any ingratitude."¹⁴³

Basel 1526 contains a litany and two short prayers, the first with language of the Psalms, the second as follows:

Almighty God, who extended for fifteen years the life of your servant, King Ezechiel, grant according to your pleasure health to this servant as well by the same hand of your majesty, to your glory, through Christ our Lord. Amen.¹⁴⁴

Such a direct request for health, though qualified by "according to your pleasure" nonetheless indicating a precedent, is not usually found in these Orders. In line with the principle of accepting obediently and patiently all that God sent, the prayers for the sickbed tend to ask for greater strength in faith and for patience rather than simply for recovery. If health does appear in a prayer it is as illustrated in crystalline fashion by the Book of Common Prayer, where a prayer in the liturgy for communion of the sick contains the following petitions:

Almightie everlyving God, maker of mankynde, which doest correcte those whom thou doest love, and chatisest every one whome thou doest receyve: we beseeche the to have mercy upon this they servaunte visited with thy hande, and to graunt that he may take his sicknesse patiently, and recover his bodily helth (if it be thy gracious will), and whansoever his soule shall departe from the body, it may without spotte be presented unto thee: through Jesus Christe our Lord. Amen.¹⁴⁵

In this prayer the 'pedagogic prayer' can be glimpsed. The instructive function is even more obvious in Strasbourg 1537-61 as the meaning of suffering is elucidated in the prayers. At one point the minister was to admonish the others present to pray. After each had prayed silently he was to "summarize" with a prayer to the following effect, which also indicates what should have been in the silent prayers:

Almighty, gracious God and Father, who alone hits and heals (schlegst und heytest) us, kills us and brings us to life, leads us to hell and out again, and regulates all this so that it must serve your children for their eternal salvation, we ask you, Father of mercy and God of all comfort, give this your son (this your daughter) to profoundly (grüntlich) recognize this so that he (she) turns to you with his (her) whole heart and accepts this fatherly discipline unto true correction. Grant that he (she) heartily and with full (sattem) faith grasps that your Son, our Lord Jesus, died for our sins and for the sake of our justification was raised again from the dead, and wants also to lead all of us, his members, through suffering and dying from sin to righteousness, from all toil to the blessed rest, from death to eternal life. Turn, too, your eyes from his (her) sin, be satisfied with this rod and take away or ease this his (her) sickness and pain, so that he (she) may laud and praise you because of it and of all your many benefits in your holy community and henceforth direct all his (her) life that your name be always hallowed through him (her), your kingdom extended and everything happen according to your good will with all delight (lust) on earth as in heaven, through our Lord Christ, Amen.¹⁴⁶

11. Bible

While not every Order mentions reading the Bible or reciting scriptural passages to the sick, many not only do so but, quite naturally, provide suggestions or instructions on which passages are most appropriate. From the Old Testament the Psalter is most frequently referred to, with Proverbs and Ecclesiastes also often quoted. Texts were chosen to fit the need. They could have dealt with discipline, or the meaning of suffering, like I Corinthians 11.32: "But when we are judged by the Lord, we are chastened so that we may not be condemned along with the world",¹⁴⁷ or on death and resurrection. Pauline passages seem to have been special favorites, but the gospels were also quoted. Especially the consoling texts generally sound much like those a modern Protestant pastor would choose in a similar situation.

Only in Basel's Form und gestalt does the passion of Christ appear other than in connection with the eucharist, where it is logically implied in any case. This infrequency is rather surprising, considering the medieval interest in the theme and continuation of that interest among Protestants. The Basel Order includes the crucifixion narrative of Luke 23.33-46. It is followed by the sentence: "Through this holy gospel, forgive us, God, all our sin". Thus one aspect is underlined, and the same is found in the admonition which follows, which begins:

Beloved brother, you have heard how God did not spare his only-begotten son, but gave him for us into death. Through this suffering may you therefore strengthen yourself, that you also will voluntarily accept death when God commands you, and like Christ did before, will forgive all that done against you....¹⁴⁸

This imitation of Christ is expressed as patient suffering and forgiveness of others, and based on thankfulness for the saving death of God's son. Though this admonition precedes the reading of the words of institution, the passion and the communion

are not especially linked with one another by the composer of the liturgy. Luther's concept of conformity with Christ, and his understanding of communion as a comfort in temptation because it was the remembrance and appropriation of the power of Christ's death¹⁴⁹ are not found in this Order.

While not following the deeper meaning of Luther, Erhard Schnepf emphasized the connection of Christ's passion and the eucharist more than does the Basel Order. In defending the communion of the sick he stressed an element perhaps easier for most people to grasp than Luther's would have been:

The death of Christ should also be thought of and celebrated in every hour of need but most of all in the final one. He should be thanked for that reason from (the) heart, as the Lord himself commends us saying, "Do this, thereby remembering me (mein dabey zugedencken)," and St. Paul, "As often as you eat of this bread and drink the cup of the Lord you should proclaim the Lord's death until he comes." And this precious sacrament, beside other names which the fathers have given it, was also called Eucharistia, (that is) a good thanksgiving. How then should the dying, in disease and (on) the deathbed, not use such (a) contemplation of the suffering of Christ with appended thanksgiving following.¹⁵⁰

In some cases it is remarkably difficult to make the chart accurate, and this element of Bible reading or quotation is one. Even where there is no quotation or reference to a specific text the language of the Bible may permeate a model for consoling the sick.

12. Instruction

The presence of "instruction" in the sections on the sick is sometimes equally or more difficult to isolate, and is perhaps a term too vaguely defined to make a proper entry on such a chart. However, it points to a common and important element,

though it is differently integrated in the visitation of the sick by different Orders. The pastors were sent to comfort, but this was so tied to the faith of the parishioner - without faith, how could the hope of the resurrection, the forgiveness of sins, and so forth, comfort one? - that an investigation of the condition of that faith had to be undertaken first. This meant an investigation of the content of the faith and the expression of faith in terms of doctrine, church, sermon and communion attendance, the avoidance of the more offensive public vices, etc. The aim was to know whether the patient had first to be brought to a confession of sin, or whether his conscience was already so tender from picking over his past sins and the thought of his death that a strong dose of comfort was the medicine immediately needed. The Order for the English-speaking congregation in Geneva begins:

Because the visitation of the sicke, is a thyng verie necessarie, and yet notwithstanding, it is hard to prescribe all rules appertaynyng therunto, wee refer it to the discretion of the godlie and prudent minister, who accordinge as he seethe the pacient affected, either may lift hym up with the swete promesses of godes thretenynges, or contrariwise, if he be not towched with the felling of his synnes, may beate hym downe with godes justice. Evermore like a skilfull phisition, framyng his medicine accordyng as the disease requireth....¹⁵¹

One of the features of some Orders that perhaps appeals most to modern minds with the ideals of pastoral care of these decades is this explicit recognition that people differ greatly and that consolation, to be effective, must be appropriate to the particular situation. As Brenz in Schwabisch Hall in 1543 wrote:

... there is a great difference among the sick. One is not dangerously, another obviously fatally ill; one knows well about the right faith, the other not; one is patient, the other impatient; one is terrified by sin, and fears damnation, the other lets the present physical day of misery be for him the greatest Anfechtung.¹⁵²

Thus as we have noted before, the needs of each sick person would ideally determine the mixture of instruction and consolation he or she would receive. Jacob Andreae warned that

it is especially inappropriate that a minister speak to all sick people in one form. For then through such ineptness it often happens that Anfechtung is first created for the simple, about which they never thought, or the unrepentant (rohlosen) are comforted, to whom the law were more justly preached and their hearts frightened through that, so that afterwards the consolation of the holy gospel might be held before them with more fruit.¹⁵³

In addition to the necessity of choosing the proper topic there was the need to fit it into the time available. For someone about to die the instruction and comfort could not be too long-drawn-out. Some Orders instructed that when there was not much time a minimal amount should precede the communion; if there were still time afterwards more could be added. In Brandenburg-Nürnberg 1533 instruction on the eucharist, sin, faith and forgiveness precedes the communion; that on baptism, the cross and suffering, and an admonition to patience followed it.¹⁵⁴ The Bible, the Creed,¹⁵⁵ and the Lord's Prayer could be used to structure the conversation to some extent, but the situations were never seen as so stereotyped that a catechism session is suggested as the proper pattern for a visit.

13. Benediction

Of the Orders providing for a benediction after the communion or as the pastor leaves, most specify the Aaronic blessing from Numbers 6.24-26, which was often the form used at parish worship services. The manual of Olavus Petri, the Book of Common Prayer, Basel's Formund gestalt, and the Order of 1566 for Hessen contain other forms. Petri's is for the priest's

leave-taking and is very simple: "God preserve you".¹⁵⁶ The benediction in the English Prayerbook was to be used when there was no communion of the sick:

The almighty Lord, which is a most strong tower to all them that put their trust in hym, to whom all thynges in heaven, in earth, and under earth, doe bowe and obey: be now and evermore thy defence, and make thee knowe and fele, that there is no other name under heaven geven to man, in whom and through whom thou mayest receyve helth and salvacion, but only the name of our Lorde Jesus Christe. Amen.¹⁵⁷

This new blessing, based on three Bible passages, was replaced in the 1661 edition of the Prayerbook with the Aaronic one.¹⁵⁸

The form of the benediction in Basel's Form und gestalt is also one especially appropriate for the sick and dying. Hessen 1566 includes a benediction which is in parts the same as Basel's. The usual post-communion benediction in this Hessian Order is the Aaronic one, and the earlier Hessian Orders on the chart have no benediction in the sections on the sick. Here is a translation of the Basel form; the German can be compared with Hessen's in the note:

God the Lord strengthen you in body and soul, and grant you to fight (fechten) as a knight (ritterlich) against all temptation, and to triumph and persevere in faith. The Lord be by you and bless you, shelter you from all evil and fill you with everything good eternally. Amen.¹⁵⁹

The image of the knight does not appear often in our Orders, though it is found in other literature, including some on dying, from before, during, and after the Protestant reformation.¹⁶⁰

14. Catholic Beliefs

Unless a Church Order has a long section on doctrine preceding the part dealing with the forms for the various ceremonies, not much discussion of previous customs, abuses, and superstitions

concerning the sick is found in these Orders. Most often present in the sections on the sick is some reference to reservation of the sacrament and carrying it in procession. The Order for Wertheim (around 1555) obviously anticipated a tendency to cling to the Catholic custom of communion in one kind and the possibility of an improperly-founded desire for communion on the part of the sick. The minister was to find out first of all

on the basis of what divine word he desired it and especially that he is armed against the devil with regard to both kind, for Satan makes much misery for the dying with this.¹⁶¹

This Order instructs that prior to communion of the sick the following questions were to be answered, which with the replies are given for the same situation before the usual eucharist:

- 1) What do you believe about the sacrament? - That Christ's body and blood are in (or under) the bread and wine.
- 2) For what will you use it? - For assurance that God is my friend and that he gives me his body and blood as a seal of that; or, To strengthen my soul with the word and sign of God and because I want to obtain grace.¹⁶²

A group of Orders linked with Bucer contain a brief mention of a "superstitious" understanding of the eucharist. This could lead to the erroneous notion, that as Strasbourg 1534 expresses it,

the external reception of the sacrament in itself should comfort and help them, regardless of the state of their faith, and be a sure viaticum (wegspeiss) into that world, or an alleviation of the sickness.¹⁶³

Augsburg 1537 has a similar remark about "superstition" based on "external reception" of the sacrament,¹⁶⁴ while Kassel 1539 speaks of an "unsuperstitious desire" as a condition for reception of the eucharist, and of "false trust in the external work".¹⁶⁵

Veit Dietrich wanted the pastor to

abolish candles and other things which one used before with the sick, that one does not give it into the sick person's hand; for since such things happen that they should thereby confess that they wish to die as Christians, we know that the single and right confession is when one confesses Jesus Christ as the one mediator and redeemer. One should keep to that, and not further bother the sick. That one has a crucifix by the dying is not in itself bad. But he who has the consolation in the word has the best crucifix, which not only the eyes see, but the ears grasp and the heart can form in itself.¹⁶⁶

Archbishop Laurentius Petri wrote that salvation does not come from holding candles, but through trust in the word of God and the illumination and consolation of the Spirit.¹⁶⁷ The Protestant interpretation of the customs, even while it may have tolerated them, made them essentially superfluous.

The Catholic sacrament of extreme unction, however, was so thoroughly entangled in misunderstandings and abuses that the large majority of Protestant theologians did not try to re-interpret and keep it, as we have seen in chapter three. The authors of the Church Orders did not even bother to discuss it, with the exceptions of Württemberg 1559, which contains the *Confessio Virtembergica*, and the *Handbock* of Petri. The *Confessio Virtembergica*, formulated to be taken to the Council of Trent, sets forth in article XIX the usual Protestant objections to the anointing of the dying. It points out that in the early church the sick were anointed to bring them back to health, and it could not therefore be called "last" or "extreme" unction. It further states that the gift of physical healing was possessed in the early church, but no longer; this is why anointing worked then. Furthermore, there is no scriptural basis for the claim that the oiling forgives sins or restores spiritual health. The true, divine unction, it concludes, is the preaching of the gospel and administration of

the eucharist to the sick.¹⁶⁸

In including the unction of the sick in his handbook Olavus Petri hedged it about with Protestant interpretation and the admission that it were better not to practice it. It was dropped when the Handbook was revised in 1541.¹⁶⁹ Olavus Petri presented it as an anointing for health and life, and not for death. Most of the Order is of his own creation: a prayer and exhortations which explain the Protestant interpretation to the recipient. The formulae for the anointing are simplifications based on those of the Manuale Lincopense:

Almighty God, who hath visited thee with sickness, confirm thy sight (hearing; nostrils and smelling; tasting, lips, mouth; hands and arms; feet and legs).¹⁷⁰

Yelverton suggests that Petri probably followed the pattern of the "Manuals of Upsala and Linkoping in which the unction came after the communion of the sick because he hoped it would fall into disuse and that the sequence of confession, absolution, communion would be the usual liturgy at the sickbed.¹⁷¹

One other Order on our chart contains provision for anointing the sick: the 1549 Book of Common Prayer. By 1552 the possibility had been deleted, but according to the earlier edition the sick were to be anointed if they desired, with a very simple liturgy. Making the sign of the cross, the priest anointed forehead or chest and prayed for inward anointing of the soul with the Holy Spirit, for health (if it were God's will) and release from mental and physical distress, for forgiveness and strength. Psalm 13, which was included in the Catholic liturgy for unction, completed the ceremony.¹⁷² In his Censura Bucer had nothing good to say about the rite. Priests had no authority and no gift of healing for imitation of the apostles. Further, the custom was prone to superstitious interpretation, and it was done at the end of life, not to return someone to health. The eucharist was enough to strengthen the sick.¹⁷³

15. Pastor's Discretion

It is not in briefer sections on visiting the sick but in more elaborate ones that one is most likely to find recognition that set forms alone will not enable a man to cope with his pastoral duties toward the sick and dying. With the understanding that there are great differences among the sick and their needs came the realization that "one can set no special form, but rather each one must himself earnestly take pains to do the thing rightly."¹⁷⁴ The Order for the Genevan English-speaking congregation admits at the beginning that

because the visitation of the sicke, is a thyng verie necessarie, and yet notwithstanding, it is hard to prescribe all rules appertaynyng therunto, wee refer it to the descretion of the godlie and prudent minister....¹⁷⁵

It then provides nothing in the way of forms.

Others realized that such an approach, while honest enough, left the less able or imaginative minister no better off than he was with no Church Order. Veit Dietrich saw the purpose of his Agendbuchlein in this light. He tried at many points, however, to destroy any impression that his proffered forms must be read or repeated as they stood.¹⁷⁶ The ideal Order would provide enough for the mediocre pastor but would not bind unduly the more resourceful one, but there were sometimes problems in providing enough. Pfalz-Neuburg 1543 borrowed from Kurbrandenburg 1540 a list of Bible passages ("etliche trostpsalm, dankpsalm, betpsalm sampt andern trostspruchen") which could be read to the sick after communion or at some time when convenient. In the end it must finally add that each can search out his own texts to supplement these, for there just was not enough space to list them all.¹⁷⁷

"
Schwabisch Hall 1543 uses lack of space as the reason for not setting out the teaching that one should use at the bedside of the sick.¹⁷⁸

In Strasbourg 1537-61 and the English Prayerbooks of 1549 and 1552 it is indicated that the minister should choose and adjust what is offered to fit the situation of the sick.¹⁷⁹ Even Olavus Petri, the creator of the Order which of all those under consideration is most exhaustive in providing forms for use at the side of the sick and dying, indicated that these forms need not be taken and used as they stood. In his foreword he wrote:

I now submit this Swedish manual to the free judgement of every Christian man, that he may take from it that which is agreeable to him; I compel no one thereto. But I venture indeed to observe that this which I have proposed will agree better with the scriptures than the Latin manual, even though for the sake of those who are weak I have allowed many things which might otherwise well have been left out. But may God give us all his grace to abide in his word.¹⁸⁰

After having done what they could, the writers of the Church Orders had to rest content with Petri's pious wish and the hope expressed in Brandenburg-Nürnberg 1528:

What these people will otherwise need in the way of comfort and admonition the work itself will teach.¹⁸¹

16. Material aid

Four of the Reformed Orders instruct that their ministers should bring not only spiritual aid to the sick members of their parish or congregation, but material aid as well if it were needed. It is significant that three of these were Orders for congregations of exiles: the Liturgia sacra of Pullain, the Forma ac ratio of à Lasco for the Dutch in London and later Frankfurt, and The Forme of Prayers of the Genevan English-speaking congregation led by John Knox. These explicit references to material help, from à Lasco's brief description: "If the sick person is poor, he is helped by the minister",¹⁸²

to the longest instruction, Pullain's, that in such cases the minister himself should give alms or see that help came from somewhere else for "the necessities of the body", and spare no effort or service which was an example to all,¹⁸³ were all products of the specific situations for which they were written as well as of the interests of their authors.

Care for the poor had been for centuries a field in which the church was active, of course. Yet it was not one suddenly opened up for the civil authorities of towns and territories of Germany and Switzerland by the Protestants' break with the Catholic church. There were secular attempts in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries to cope with problems of the beggars and the poor in some orderly fashion beside the church's charity.¹⁸⁴ Still, the movement for reformation of the church also had an impact upon attitudes to these issues, and it reordered through the doctrine of justification by faith the position of charity, merit, pious and good works in the Christian life.¹⁸⁵ Reformation further provided governments with an opportunity to sort out a new relationship to the church and to fields which had been more or less controlled by the church.

The various methods and patterns for poor relief in the lands of southern Germany and Switzerland are a broad and complex topic we need not begin to consider in any detail here. Each political unit made its laws for the financing and administration of aid for the poor and sick, not without learning from the attempts of other cities and territories. The place of the church was then governed by the law, whether the clergy agreed or not. But the civil community was still by and large the Christian community, so the distinction between the two should not be understood as separation. The network of brotherhoods which had helped their socially and financially weak members seems to have been replaced in general by the whole community and its responsibility for these members.

This responsibility might have been justified with Christian language, and the alms may have been collected in the churches, but in most of the Lutheran territories and cities, in Strasbourg and the northern Swiss cities the system for care of the poor was basically a civil one,¹⁸⁶ whether the guidelines were set out in the Church Orders or in the civil regulations.¹⁸⁷ In Geneva, though Calvin did not succeed entirely in overcoming the resistance of a government not willing to give the church and clergy too much power, the two sides worked hand in hand. Though the council had final control, the consistory was made responsible for caring for the poor and sick who needed assistance.¹⁸⁸ Here the office of the deacon, in Geneva subdivided into the task of organizing and collecting alms and that of distributing them and tending the sick, played an important role.¹⁸⁹ Since the church officially had a part in the care of the poor and sick, it is appropriate that La Forme des Prières, unlike most of our Orders, contains the instruction that both consolation and material help were to be rendered by the minister as a "true example of charity".¹⁹⁰

The "strangers' congregations" formed by exiles had greater freedom to establish their church life without such careful control by a sometimes jealous government, so long as they obeyed the basic framework of laws in their guest country. Even if sources of poor relief were available from the land in which they resided,¹⁹¹ members of these congregations were largely thrown upon each other for support. The church in London under à Lasco's leadership became a model for many such churches. Here funds came from the Sunday offerings of members and were distributed by deacons, who met regularly with the ministers.¹⁹² In a congregation like this in London, or those of the Walloons in Glastonbury and Frankfurt am Main and that of the Scots and English in Geneva, the whole arrangement was largely an internal matter of a church whose members had the special bond of exiles. The minister visiting the sick could notice what might remain unknown,

and if he percevye hym to wante any necessaries...
not onlie releveth hym accordyng to his abilitie,
but also provideth by others that he may be
furnished sufficiently.¹⁹³

The exemplary nature of such help, which is pointed out in La Forme des Prieres and the Liturgia sacra, was certainly an important point for the authors, because the minister was not considered to be the only Christian who had the duty of helping others. The laity also had responsibility for their neighbors.

17. Laity

Frequent mention of "others" around the sickbed confirms that it was not the minister alone who was dealing with the sick people, actually or ideally. However, that Orders instructed pastors to try to have others present during their visits suggests that they were not always eager to be there.

The guides for the pastor do not recommend that he try to be with someone at the moment of death; Veit Dietrich's advice for a minister in such a situation gives no indication of whether he expected this to be a frequent or a rare occurrence.¹⁹⁴ The composers of some Orders, evidently realizing that the role of the laity at the moment of death had not been rendered completely superfluous by that of the minister, attempted to make the part of the former, especially of family, friends and neighbors, more effective.

That there might have been differences of opinion between theologian and layperson on just what was needed by the dying is indicated by a comment of Luther:

One should drive far from sick and dying people the wifies and those who prattle like women (weyber unnd weybische gepleppere) who say then: "Dear cousin and dear Hans, there's no need yet. You'll surely be healthy again, blessed and rich". With such words one makes stupid, weak, slack hearts.... One should strengthen the sick briskly for death and stir the sufferers just to more suffering.¹⁹⁵

Death was not something one should think about as little as possible, but thinking about it was fraught with dangers since Satan was always ready to manipulate and distort human efforts at understanding. Thus the reformers, as their Roman Catholic contemporaries and predecessors, felt that an informed helper at the bedside was important.

Preparation of the laity could be undertaken in public through the medium of the sermon. The preacher was to teach "diligently and often how each one in such final need (i.e. dying) may instruct, comfort and strengthen his neighbor".¹⁹⁶ The preachers of Zurich were to admonish their parishioners to "visit the sick, show the works of mercy, comfort them, to help and counsel them."¹⁹⁷ A fuller description of what was expected of the laity comes from the minister's instruction to those at the sickbed in Augsburg 1555, which concludes:

...we should also prove and practice our faith with the works of love to the sick and as we find them weak in faith, in Anfechtung and sorrow, comfort them with the word of God and strengthen them with us in the right faith, besides take all their burdens on us as well, help and stand by (them) with all kinds of assistance whereby they need us, not leave them as we see the unbelieving, evil world do, as (you have) heard. For such pleases God well and because it happens out of right faith and love will richly count as proper, good work shown toward himself (Matt. 25.40).¹⁹⁸

The Order for the Herrschaft Thungen, in the diocese of Wurzburg, has a relatively brief section on communion of the sick, yet most of it is taken up with a provision concerning the laity. Before the priest came to the sick person for communion, a bell was to be rung to gather people, especially neighbors, for the ceremony. What may well have been customary there in Catholic times as a way to call people to accompany the sacrament to the sick is reinterpreted as good because they

have many necessary and Christian thoughts to remember thereby, besides which (they) should take on themselves out of Christian love the need of the sick person. ¹⁹⁹

Sickness was an opportunity for education of both the patient and those around. If no minister were likely to be present as someone died, those who were needed to know what to say or do. Olavus Petri instructed that they be told to repeat the priest's consoling words about a merciful God to the sick person, "especially in his last moments", assuring him that Christ will save him,

and that they at all times name the name of Jesus Christ on his behalf, that he may doubt not that Jesus Christ is his Saviour and Redeemer.²⁰⁰

The Order for Pfalz-Neuburg of 1543 similarly instructs the priest to point out to those around the sickbed consoling sayings (Trost-sprüche) which they then can use at the side of the dying to keep him focussed upon Christ alone.²⁰¹

Those present might not have been just family, friends and neighbors, but people appointed by the city council to care for the sick. Hieronymus Noppus, pastor in Regensburg, was concerned that such persons, male or female,

have a Christian understanding so that they refer the dying only to the merit of Christ, not to their own merit or intercessions of the saints. They should say the Lord's Prayer and the Creed aloud and, where there is time, psalms and songs in accord with the scriptures, like: "Out of the depths I cry to thee", the "Nunc dimittis", "Dear Christians, one and all, rejoice", from the baptism (of Christ), from the sacrament of the body and blood, etc., not old, false prayers and sayings.²⁰²

In Nördlingen Kaspar Löner wished to see the women appointed by the council,

so that I may inquire about their faith and understanding, also how they are accustomed to comfort the sick and to look after them, and to teach them what they do not know.²⁰³

Seeing the laity as naturally taking a part in the care of the souls as well as the bodies of the sick is further expression of the view of the sixteenth-century reformers that the sick

were not to be considered as being outside the usual flow of life. The dying were not to be seen as a distinct and separate category of people to be avoided in the course of normal living. Concern for the living, who could be moved and be taught by the experience, as well as for the sick and dying, who could be comforted and strengthened, molded this view. All are destined to be "the dying", the reformers knew, and they believed that life was not properly lived when cut off from those near death, or when their experience was cut off from and totally inaccessible to healthy people. "Wise, God-fearing people," Veit Dietrich counselled,

are gladly around dying people, where one does
not laugh nor is merry. Rather one grieves and
laments. For through such things they are
improved....²⁰⁴

Not unrelated to the presence of family, friends, and neighbors around the deathbed is the aspect of community. This was not only viewed as a social community; it was also the community of the church, which though especially emphasized by Reformed Orders is not absent from Lutheran ones. The liturgies for the communion of the sick, no matter how simple, were basically the congregational communion service, adapted with regard to the time available and the expected difficulties created by disease and weakness.

Yet dying remained finally an event centered on a single individual. The social element predominates in the pattern woven around the dead.

Denn es auch billich und recht ist, das man die Begrebnis ehrlich halte und volbringe, Zu lob und ehre dem frölichen Artikel unsers Glaubens, nemlich von der aufferstehung der Todten, Und zu trotz dem schrecklichen Feinde, dem Tode, der uns so schendlich dahin frisset, on unterlas mit allerley scheuslicher gestalt und weise.

Chapter 6: GUIDANCE OF THE CHURCH ORDERS CONCERNING THE DEAD AND THE BEREAVED*

Emerging from both the Protestant reformers' views on temptation, fear of death, and providence and their suggestions for consoling dying Christians as expressed in the often very condensed language of their Church Orders is an impression of security, trust, hope, and surprisingly little resignation. Luther wanted this atmosphere to be felt in the cemetery as well. "We sing no songs of mourning" he wrote, and when one compares the words of his suggested burial hymns with those of most of the nineteenth-century hymns for funerals in a modern Protestant hymnal there is a striking difference in tone. "We do not want to let our churches be houses of mourning or places of grief any longer,"² the Wittenberg reformer emphasized, aiming a blow at the Roman tradition. His expectations of what awaited the believer on the other side of death as well as his ecclesiastical allegiance had gradually changed.

The dividing line between the tradition and the new churches on the issues of services after a person's death is marked by the answers given to the query: For what purpose and for whose benefit are these things done? The Protestants had their own views on the needs of the dead: they needed no prayers, they needed no requiem masses, they needed no vigils, nor services on the seventh or thirtieth day or a year after death. In short, with regard to ameliorating their state they needed the good works of the living even less than did the living themselves.

The development of some ritual for taking leave of a dead member of a community is a common human phenomenon, and one with many layers of significance. The depth and complexity of meaning support the conservatism inherent in any ritual, so one might well expect that in the

*Notes for this chapter begin on page 325.

practice of burial many traditional features would be retained by Protestants. It is actually astonishing to see how many changes were made, though here as in virtually everything the evangelical churches show great variation.

They all insisted fundamentally that Christians should not bury their dead "in the opinion that the service of the living, to the dead in this case, is helpful and useful for redemption."³ These churches, therefore, had to find a new definition and rationale for their presence or influence at the graveside. Some at first evidently simply withdrew, and the ministers took no part at burials. These seem to have produced or allowed on some occasions what was as abhorrent as the full Catholic pomp: the dead were buried or "thrown away" as one would animal carcasses.⁴

If the dead had nothing to gain through the burial practices, it clearly would not do to assume that they helped no one and could be done away with at will. The Protestant reaction had to be more constructive. Some reformers, as we shall see, maintained that burials should take place without the services of the church, but others reinterpreted the part of the church, as did Johann Sutel:

The ceremonies and other pomp at the burial in no way help or benefit the dead person, but take place more for the comfort and revival (erquickung) of the living... , thus we nonetheless keep the Christian ceremonies.⁵

In Strasbourg and Nürnberg where those ceremonies had at first been abolished, they were reformed and reintroduced.⁶ Help for the living became the object of the funeral on Protestant church life, and however churches may have differed in concrete points, there was basic agreement as to the aim of the exercise.

In matters pertaining to the burial of the dead the Bible is if anything even less help in practical terms than it was concerning helping the sick and dying. In a general way, in that it offered Old Testament evidence that the patriarchs were buried fittingly,⁷ or gave some guidance on grieving in a Christian manner, it proved useful. In concrete terms the customs of a place or culture are influential in forming the ways of dealing with the dead, and here the reformers scarcely suggested return to burial practices of the early church. Brenz explained in 1526 in his suggested Order for Schwäbisch Hall how the customs of the ancient church had been misunderstood and had come to be the abuses of the medieval burial:

Out of the great love that the Christians had for one another, the living stayed by the grave of the martyr or the one who had died for part of the night. For this reason it is called a Vigilia, in German a watch (wacht). In the morning they held in the church by the altar from which the Sacrament was distributed the memorial of the deceased, commending his soul into the hands of God. This the followers saw, and thought that the watching or Vigilia took place to free the dead from purgatory, although it was only a work showing the love for the dead....

Also, while at the distribution of the Sacrament the deceased was announced, those who did not understand concluded₈ from this that one offered the sacrament for the dead.

While he could take over the motives of the early Christians, Brenz did not suggest that their customs all be reinstated. It is probable that a plethora of more or less important local customs surrounded the basic ceremonial of the Catholic church, but it does not seem possible to ascertain how many were attacked along with much of that ceremonial and how many were allowed to continue. Local customs would have had to be domesticated to remain within a Protestant theological framework, which rejected the Roman sacraments and sacramentalia and the meritorius nature of good deeds and which emphasized the total dependence of the individual on God. In the Church Orders we see what was prescribed and get glimpses of what was proscribed, if we cannot judge the true measure of what was accomplished. The following chart again organizes basic characteristics and elements of the instructions in the Orders, with numbers corresponding to the following points:

1. A minister (or more than one) was to be present at the burial.
2. The schoolmaster could be present at the burial.
3. School pupils could be present for the funeral.
4. Singing formed a part of the ceremonies. Are suggestions made (= S; Latin songs = L; songs in the vernacular = V)?
5. Times for burials are set (either regarding the time of day or the length of time after death).
6. A bell was rung.
7. The people were expected to escort the body (explicitly).
8. The cemetery or grave is mentioned.
9. Alms were collected at the funeral.
10. The Bible was read or quoted in the ceremonies.

[illegible]

			<u>Title of clergy at burial</u>																					
		Pfarrer or Helfer	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.	22.
L 1536	WÜRTTEMBERG (Schnepf)	1	Minister	Schoolmaster	School pupils	Singing	Times	Bell	Escort	Cemetery	Alms	Bible	Sermon	Personal references	Prayers	Announcement	Refusal of funeral	Epidemics	Catholic customs	Grieving	Mortality	Resurrection	Love	Life's wretchedness
1537-61	STRASBOURG	1						6	7			10	11		13				17	18	19	20	21	22
1537	AUGSBURG											10(11)			13					18				
1539	HEESSEN: Ziegenhain Zuchtordnung	1														15								
1539	HEESSEN: Kassel Kirchenordnung	1		3		5			8							15	16							
L 1539	ALBERTINE SAXONY: Herzog Heinrich's	1	2	3	4 _v			7														20		
L 1540	KURBRANDENBURG: Joachim II's	1	3	4 _v	6		9	10		13								17	18		20			
1541/61	GENEVA: Ordonnances ecclésiastiques				5		(8)																	
1542	GENEVA: La Forme des Prieres																							
L 1543	SCHWÄBISCH HALL (Brenz)	Kirchen- diener	1					7				10?11			13							18(19)20		

[illegible]

[illegible]

	<u>Title of</u> <u>clergy</u> <u>at burial</u>																					
1554/55	GLASTONBURY, FRANKFURT, Walloons: Liturgia sacra (Pullain)	Pastor or some minister	1					7	9	11	12	13									(19)	
1555	AUGSBURG: Forma																					
L 1555	NÖRDLINGEN, St. George (Löner; Runtzler)	use Nördlingen 1544	1							10?	11											
L 1555	LINDAU: Agenda (Marbach, Erythraeus et al.)	4 Kirchen- diener	1					6	7	8		11				(14)						
L 1555 ca.	WERTHEIM																					
L 1555/57	AMBERG (Ketzmann)	Kirchendiener, (1557) Minister	1							11										17		
L 1556	KURPFALZ (& OBERPFALZ & NEUBURG): Ottheinrich's	Kirchendiener	1	3	4s ^p	6	7			10	11	13							17	18	20	21

[illegible]

[illegible]

11. A sermon, however short, could or was to be held.
12. Personal references to the deceased were permitted in the funeral sermon.
13. Prayers were said as part of the funeral ritual.
14. An announcement of the death was made to the congregation.
15. A funeral under the auspices of the church could be refused in some cases.
16. Changes in the pattern during epidemics are mentioned.
17. Roman Catholic customs or beliefs are mentioned, even very generally.
18. Some guidance on grieving is given, if only by citing I Thessalonians 4.13.
19. Death or burial is viewed as serving as a reminder to the living of their mortality, possibly with a warning to reform added.
20. The funeral or burial is seen as a confession or reminder of the resurrection.
21. Love is given as a motive for escorting the body or for burial.
22. Life is referred to as miserable, wretched, a vale of woe, etc.

Again discussion will be ordered according to these numbers.

1. Minister

The question of whether an ordained minister was present in his "official capacity" at a burial is complicated by the difficulties in saying just what "ordained" means, especially for the geographical area in which we are most interested here. A glance at the list of the titles of those who did preside at funerals according to most of the Orders indicates that not only the senior pastor or preacher was involved. Deacons, "helpers" and chaplains were also sometimes expected to go, and their precise standing with regard to ordination is not a simple one to clarify. However, this is fortunately not necessary, so long as the phrase "ordained" minister is avoided. To do so is not to shirk a complex discussion, but results from recognition that using present categories for the sixteenth century is in this case neither necessary nor always appropriate.

With regard to burial the issue is somewhat different than when the eucharist is involved. Requiem masses and consecration (of the elements, of holy water, of graves) soon were abolished as "superstitions" when reformation along Protestant lines began; the question of whether some official representative of the church should participate at burials remained. If for this some kind of qualification was needed in any church, it was whichever one was required for the office of preaching. But more important than qualification was really authorization to act as the church's representative. This might have been what we would clearly term "ordination", but it might have been expressed differently. For example, Württemberg knew no ordination in the usual sense of the word until the nineteenth century. Before that investiture in a parish functioned as the official authorization for the ministry of word and sacrament.⁹ Where the division between clergy and laity was ambiguous through institutions such as the diaconate in Reformed churches, the term "ordination" is even less helpful. Thus the term in connection with the person whose presence made a burial into a "church burial" in the sixteenth century can be more of a complicating than a clarifying expression. It introduces categories which simply do not do justice to the variations within the Protestant church structures, particularly in Switzerland and southern Germany.

The decision about participation of a minister of the church in the burial ritual for its members was clearly made according to the standard of what helps the living most, in line with Protestant views on purgatory and the mass. In some Swiss cities it was felt that the living needed most to be protected against the pride and superstitions nourished by "pomp" and which seemed likely to grow even around a simple funeral conducted by a minister. Thus in Zurich, Bern and Geneva no provision for church burials was made,¹⁰ though the burying of the deceased was not considered and was not supposed to be "unchristian". Chapter twenty-six of the Second Helvetic Confession begins with this statement of this view:

The Scripture directs that the bodies of the faithful, as being temples of the Holy Spirit, which we truly believe shall rise again at the last day, should be honorably, without any superstition, committed to the earth; and, besides, that we should make honorable mention of those who died in the Lord, and perform all duties of love to those they leave behind, as their widows and fatherless children. Other care for the dead we do not enjoin. Therefore, we do greatly disapprove of the Cynics, who neglected the bodies of the dead, or did carelessly and disdainfully cast them into the earth, never speaking so much as a good word of the deceased, nor any whit regarding those whom they left behind them.¹¹

Just how many sixteenth-century "Cynics" there were is impossible now to ascertain, but condemnation of such an attitude and loveless disposal of the deceased was included in a number of Orders. Theobald Billican claimed that the papists were to blame, for through their avarice, their vigils and their indulgences all hope and recognition ("spem et cognitionem") are diverted from the dead and they are thrown away as though they were to have no part in the future kingdom.¹²

Billican seems not to have suggested that a minister attend burials to see that they were more fittingly conducted. Nor does the Ulm Order of 1531, though the ministers were to admonish their people to inter the dead decently.¹³ Such a solution was not enough for the reformers of Strasbourg to whom the danger of superstition was evidently preferable to having human corpses treated like those of animals.¹⁴ Here an Order for a church burial was first published in 1537, but already in 1533 it was directed that a minister be present at burials.¹⁵ When in Strasbourg, according to Paul Jacobs, Calvin did as the Strasbourgeoisie did and buried members of the French congregation of which he was pastor.¹⁶

The more strictly Lutheran churches, too, as one might expect, seem to have had fewer qualms about ceremony and superstition than some of the Swiss ones. Yet here as well there were decisions to be made, since everything could not just continue after reformation as it had before. The two head pastors (Pröbste) of the main churches in Nürnberg agreed in 1524 that, as before, the clergy would participate in funerals, though requiem masses would not be continued outside the monasteries. In 1525 in Nürnberg it became possible to bury without participation of a priest.¹⁷ The Brandenburg-Nürnberg Order of 1528, however, assumes a priest is present, and the Order for Weissenburg of the same year directs that a minister should go along as a body is taken to the grave.¹⁸ The

Order for worship in Amberg's Spitalkirche (1544) allows that "whoever wishes then that he be interred in the earth with (sic) the Protestant priest, he is allowed that." Interment "through our chaplains" was also possible.¹⁹

That even where church burials were acceptable clergy were not always present is suggested by the Regensburg Order of 1543, which enjoins "that it be reported when someone has died, and the burial is requested and desired" (with a church representative present). This impression is reinforced by the statement which soon follows: "That two from the deacons go along, who also should have something from that, where the people are able."²⁰

This is the only one of our Orders which seems to suggest some payment for burial by the church. Financial benefits for priests through services for the dead had often been attacked by the Protestants. Zurich's Council decreed in 1523 that the dean and chapter of the largest church of the city, the Grossmünster, had agreed not to demand fees for the sacraments and funerals.²¹ Years later Bucer stated in his Censura to the Book of Common Prayer that

it is fitting that the sacred ministrations should be performed without any appearance of purchase, and that salaries should be fixed for the ministers from the goods which formerly were set aside to the Lord by the faithful for this purpose: and where these goods are not sufficient, whatever is necessary should be made up from fixed contributions of the people.²²

This was, however, an idealistic picture of how smoothly everything would be taken care of. As Paul Drews writes, "what stood on the paper was not yet in the purse of the pastor," and estimates that the financial situation of the ministers was bad.²³ Perhaps it is not insignificant that the Kassel Order of 1539 begins its section on the funeral with the following statement:

This (the funeral) should be common for all Christians, as far as the place of the burial is concerned and no one is to be permitted for the sake of money some special pomp, because that would be damnable simony.²⁴

The temptation for a financially weak minister to allow certain additions to the basic burial for those able to pay should not be overlooked. Yet the Orders do not suggest that the poor were to be refused the accompaniment

of a minister. It seems probable that worldly differences spread across the church burial as well, so that unless strictly controlled, funerals backed by wealth looked quite different from those of the poor, even if the minister was present at all of them. It is possible that a process of self-selection kept the less wealthy in some societies from requesting a church burial, even if the minister earned nothing directly from it. Other costs could also be involved in a funeral - for the grave, tolling the bell, or the meal to follow, if these were customary.²⁵ Here custom no doubt was as much, if not more of a pressure than the regulations of the church, and an accurate picture could only be made on the basis of research into the situations in various localities.

Johann Sutel condemned a "secret and silent" carrying of the dead to the grave in his Order for Schweinfurt (1543), and supported instead an "open and honorable" burial with "chaplain, schoolmaster and pupils."²⁶ One hopes he worked to make it possible for everyone, but cannot forget that few Protestants challenged the structure of the societies in which they lived, with their differences of rank and status.

While with regard to some of the Lutheran Orders one questions whether pastors always participated at the burials of their parishioners, by the Zurich, Bern and Geneva Orders one wonders if they never did. Bruno Bürki believes that the principles of the Ordonnances ecclésiastiques were softened in actual practice, and that a pastor not only comforted the bereaved family but also held at the house or the graveside a prayer and brief address. He bases this on a recommendation to this effect by Farel in his L'Ordre et maniere qu'on tient en administrant les saints sacrements (second edition 1538), and two letters of Calvin. In these Calvin "appears not to reject such a 'hortatiuncula' at the cemetery."²⁷

In the first letter, to the ministers in Montbéliard (or Mömpelgard) where the ruler, Christoph of Württemberg, was trying to introduce Lutheran ceremonies, Calvin advised compromise wherever it was possible. Concerning funerals, he wished to have the body taken directly to the cemetery and not into the church. He did not attack the Lutheran practice of having the pastor preach at a funeral, but he wanted this to be at the grave rather than in the church "so the bereaved hear right there by the grave what one has to say to them." Such a practice, he felt,

would not be particularly censurable.²⁸ In a letter to Viret about a month later he reported that he did not think the funeral ceremonies need be rejected since they were an opportunity for exhortation and consolation.²⁹

Yet what Calvin did not strictly reject in this specific situation and what he allowed or what was customary in Geneva may well differ, and there is no other evidence for such an address at the grave in the Swiss city. The documents available, according to Ursula Rohner-Baumberger, give no picture of what ritual accompanied the actual burial in Geneva. A letter describing a burial around 1554 mentions no address at the grave. One knows more about the men who carried the corpses and the divisions in the cemetery than about the manner of interment.³⁰

Somewhat more can be learned about practices in Zurich through Ludwig Lavater's De ritibus et institutis ecclesiae Tigurinae, opusculum (1559), which is properly speaking no Church Order but a description of the situation in Zurich at that time. Here no clergy spoke at the graveside, but a tribunus, which Rohner-Baumberger translates as "a mayor or head of a guild - perhaps also a teacher,"³¹ thanked the people present on behalf of the family for accompanying the corpse with propriety.³²

2. Schoolmaster

In "On the Councils and the Church" Luther suggested that ceremonies, instead of being dealt with by councils of the church, be left up to the pastors and the schools, "so that the schoolmaster would be a master of ceremonies (Zeremonienmeister) beside the pastor." The people would learn the liturgy and hymns naturally from the children in the church or at the graveside, thought Luther, and special regulations would be unnecessary.³³ This was not entirely the course followed by the Protestant churches with regard to ceremonies, for not all shared Luther's casual view of them.³⁴ Yet the place of the schoolmaster and his pupils in the services was not far from Luther's conception. A number of the Church Orders we are considering envisioned their playing a part in funerals, and though the master of the school is not so often explicitly mentioned, he probably was assumed to have led his pupils. Their role as musicians will be discussed in the next section.

The schoolmaster was viewed as musician by the Weissenburg Order (1528), which does not mention the school. It was not necessary that he be present, but if there he was to sing only what came from the Bible.³⁵ In this capacity his presence was also desired by Sutel, who wrote that he could use his discretion in choosing "good, Christian songs" other than those specifically named in the Order for Schweinfurt.³⁶

While none of our Orders suggest that the schoolmaster served a function other than providing or improving the musical elements at the funeral, later at least in some places he did. In Württemberg he sometimes spoke the so-called "Abdankung" or "Parentation," an office by which his meager income could be increased.³⁷ By the seventeenth century it had become more an address and less a simple expression of gratitude for help and presence while dying and at the funeral, as suggested in Lavater's De ritibus et institutis, which was also called an "Abdankung" in Zurich, at least early in the seventeenth century.³⁸ When Rohner-Baumberger suggests that even in the time of Lavater and Bullinger the "tribunus" might have been a teacher she gives no reason, and mentions nowhere that this was later usual in Zurich, a possible basis for her speculation. Bruno Bürki, in suggesting that in actuality the strict Genevan rules about ministerial presence at burials were not always precisely kept and that an address might have been permitted writes:

In addition the schoolmasters often discharged a corresponding service. Since these, however, were placed under the church officebearers and practically fulfilled certain functions of the deacons, perhaps there, where this was the case, one should speak less about a non-church burial than about one led by a subordinate minister (untergeordneten Kirchen-diener) instead of the parish pastor.³⁹

Here, however, he gives no references. There seems to be little evidence for a semi- or sub-ministerial function for the schoolmaster at burials from the first three-quarters of the sixteenth century.⁴⁰ In the Orders we are considering he appears in his musical capacity.

3. School Pupils

Use of the school at funerals is, strikingly, only mentioned in Lutheran Orders and in the 1539 and 1566 ones for Hessen. That not every parish could produce a schoolmaster and pupils was a fact not to be ignored, and the Orders for Albertine Saxony from 1539, 1545 and 1555 expect such accompaniment only at funerals in towns, not those in the villages.⁴¹ A conditional form in recognition of this fact is also found in Brandenburg-Nurnberg 1528, Dietrich's Agendbüchlein of 1543, Kurpfalz 1556, Rothenburg ob der Tauber 1559 and Hessen 1566.⁴²

The Order for St. Martin's in Amberg indicates that there either a full or a half choir could be requested.⁴³ There is, however, no suggestion here or elsewhere that social status or wealth affected the decision or that the pupils or school were given something for the service. Naturally this does not exclude these as possible factors; they may have been so common as to need no mention in the Orders. Thüngen's Order (1564), for example, directs merely that the pastor lead the procession to the grave, but "if one can have them" the kirchner or sexton and the school-boys are to come as well.⁴⁴ Perhaps it was a question of the time of the burial being convenient for the school.⁴⁵

These Orders give no further help in divining reasons for inclusion of the school at funerals. The Kassel Order for Hessen gives only a reason for exclusion: during epidemics the children should be exempted from the task of accompanying bodies to the grave.⁴⁶

4. Singing

We also sing no hymns of mourning nor songs of suffering by our dead and graves, but rather consoling hymns about the forgiveness of sins, about rest, sleep, life and resurrection of the dead Christians, so that our faith is strengthened and the people are roused to true devotion.⁴⁷

The Protestant burial was not ignored by those who believed that the reformation could be advanced by the sung as well as the spoken word, as this quotation from Luther's foreword to one collection of hymns for funerals testifies. Liturgical pieces such as the Credo and Nunc dimittis were used

as hymns in addition to newly-composed songs, and psalms and biblical verses were sung. As the chart and the following list show, here the difference in the attitudes of the Swiss and the Lutherans is again evident.

It is unfortunate that there is so little evidence indicating how the laity buried each other when no minister was present. It is quite possible that a hymn or psalm was sometimes sung, as it is possible that the Lord's Prayer was prayed at the graveside or that someone spoke a few words. It would have depended on the local customs which were gradually built up again after the reform, as well as those of the old ones which survived, and upon the sort of people who attended the burial. One must be cautious about conclusions drawn from the silence of the Church Orders. For example, the Strasbourg burial service as published between 1537 and 1561 mentions no singing. However, the fourth part of a Czech songbook published with a preface by Katherine Zell in Strasbourg in 1536, Das vierde Byechlin d'Geystichen Gsang includes a few "Gesang züm begrebnüss der todten."⁴⁸ Burial hymns were also included in a Strasbourg songbook from 1545.⁴⁹

One of the hymns in Das vierde Byechlin is Michael Weiss' "Nun lasst uns den leib begraben" (Now let us bury the body), which appears to have been a favorite of Katherine Zell as well as of her husband Matthew. She read it at the conclusion of the address she held after Bucer's sermon at Matthew's grave.⁵⁰ It was also one of those suggested by Luther, and is a good example on the theme of death of the direct translation of theology into simple language that is characteristic of hymns of the Protestant reformation. We quote the first, third and last of the seven stanzas:

Nun lasst uns den Leib begraben;
Daran wir kein Zweifel haben,
Er werd am jüngensten Tag aufstehn,
Und unvergesslich hervorgehn.

Sein Seel lebet ewig in Gott,
Der sie allhier aus lauter Gnad,
Von aller Sünd und Missethat
Durch seinen Sohn erlöset hat.

Nun lassen wir ihn hie schlafen,
Und gehn All heim unsre Strassen;
Schicken uns auch mit allem Fleiss;
Denn der Tod kommt uns gleicher Weis.⁵¹

Hohenlohe 1553, Thüngen 1564, and the Dinkelsbühl Bericht from the 1560's and the 1570's mention this hymn specifically. The Orders we are considering have a common stock of songs. Most of those suggested as appropriate at burials were biblical passages, often used as antiphons in the Roman church as well. These were sometimes still permitted in Latin as well as in the vernacular, depending on the Order. The medieval antiphon "Media vita in morte sumus" and German translations and extensions of it, including Luther's, are mentioned most frequently. A list of the songs and the Orders where they appear gives the clearest and most accurate picture. It seems plausible that those quoted by their Latin "title" were to be sung in Latin unless explicit directions to the contrary were given. On this assumption, those Orders which evidently or explicitly allow Latin are listed after the letter "L", and those calling for the vernacular after "V".

Benedictus (Luke 1.68-78/79)	L: Brandenburg-Nürnberg 1533 Pfalz-Neuburg 1543 V: Allstedt 1523/24
Ego sum resurrectio (John 11.25 ff)	L or V: Brandenburg-Nürnberg 1528 L: Brandenburg-Nürnberg 1533 Kurbrandenburg 1540 Pfalz-Neuburg 1543
Si enim credimus (I. Thess. 4.14 ff)	L or V: Brandenburg-Nürnberg 1528 L: Weissenburg 1528 Kurbrandenburg 1540 Pfalz-Neuburg 1543
De profundis/Aus tiefer Not (Ps. 130)	L: Schweinfurt 1543 V: Kurbrandenburg 1540 Cologne 1543 Amberg 1550
Libera me domine	L: Kurbrandenburg 1540
Si bona suscepimus	L: Kurbrandenburg 1540 Amberg 1550
Ego dixi: In dimidio dierum meorum	L: Pfalz-Neuburg 1543
Psalm 103: Mein seele, lob den Herrn	V: 1550/54/56 London, Dutch congregation

Psalm 90

L?: Brandenburg-Nürnberg 1533

L: Pfalz-Neuburg 1543

Psalm 51 (paraphrase)

V: Sweden, Handbock 1529

Nunc dimittis/"Simeon's song"/
Mit fried und freud ich far dahin
(Luke 2.29-32)

L: Schweinfurt 1543
Nürnberg, Agendbüchlein 1543

V: Albertine Saxony 1539
Kurbrandenburg 1540
Amberg 1550
Hohenlohe 1553
(Luther, foreword to burial
hymns)

Media vita

L or V: Brandenburg-Nürnberg 1528
Amberg 1550
Hohenlohe 1553

L: Brandenburg-Nürnberg 1533
Schweinfurt 1543
Nürnberg, Agendbüchlein 1543
Pfalz-Neuburg 1543

L+ 3 German verses:
Kurbrandenburg 1540

V: Brandenburg-Nürnberg 1528

Various vernacular songs based on
the "Media Vita":

A Swedish version based on the
medieval antiphon and Luther's
translation

Sweden, Handbock 1529

Mitten unsers lebens zeit sein
wir mit dem tod umfangen⁵²

Brandenburg-Nürnberg 1533
Pfalz-Neuburg 1543

Mitten in dem leben sind wir mit
dem tod umbfangen

?Allstedt 1523/24 (Mitten in
dem Leben)
Albertine Saxony 1539

Mitten wir im leben sind (3 verses)

Kurbrandenburg 1540

Mitten wir im leben sein

Cologne 1543
Kurpfalz 1556
Thüngen 1564
Hessen 1566

Nun lasst uns den leib begraben

Thüngen 1564
Hohenlohe 1553
Hessen 1566
(Luther's foreword)

Luther also suggested: "Wir glauben all an einem Gott" (German Credo)
and "Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist" in his foreword.

These songs were recognized as tried and true, but were not meant as the only possibilities. Some Orders give no specific titles; two call simply for "several psalms",⁵³ where "psalmen" need not only refer to the biblical book but to songs more generally. Brandenburg-Nürnberg 1533 makes its suggestions, then adds: "according to the way it is customary in each place or may be arranged."⁵⁴ Johann Sutel recommended Luther's songbook of 1542, obviously the one whose foreword we have quoted, as a source of good songs for funerals.⁵⁵

The Orders offer various answers to a query as to who sang these songs. If the school was present the pupils were surely expected to sing, but Hohenlohe, for example, also expected singing when they were not there. Indeed, singing constitutes the main portion of the liturgy in this Order.⁵⁶ Only in Weissenburg 1528 is the schoolmaster alone mentioned as singing.⁵⁷ The chart also shows that several Orders clearly indicate that the gathered laity should sing. Knauer's comments on Dinkelsbühl at the end of the period we cover mentions a precentor (vorsinger) and the laity.⁵⁸ The minister, too, was expected often to sing.

5. Times

The eminently practical issue of the time of inhumation appears in the provisions of these Church Orders in two connections: first, the length of time to elapse between death and burial, and, second, the time of day interment should take place.

Reasons for concern about how long after death the body was to be disposed of can be gathered from the Ordonnances of Geneva and from Noppus' Order for Regensburg. In Geneva it was linked to the belief that since a minister did not participate at the burial some control was needed to ensure that nothing untoward occurred. The body was to be placed in the earth "at the earliest twelve and at the latest twenty-four hours after death," and prior to burial it was to be inspected by the porteurs, who also carried it to the grave. They were under oath to the Seigneurie. The same caution is evident in the requirement that the porteurs report sudden deaths.⁵⁹

Noppus, on the other hand, supported his recommendation that the dead not be hurried to the grave with worries of a different kind. The deceased should be left in the house for an hour and a quarter at least, because of the "frequent" experience

that people lay in unconsciousness so that one thinks they had died and they still have afterwards recovered - some as they were carried to the grave.⁶⁰

He allows that during an epidemic one should not wait.⁶¹

In 1568 the council of the city of Dinkelsbühl ordered that the bodies of those who died in the morning before six should be interred before the city gates were shut that evening. Those who passed away in the evening before six were to be buried the next morning. Before this, three o'clock in the afternoon had been the regular hour for burial, or two o'clock from about the end of October to the beginning of February so that it was easier to be back in the city before the gates were closed for the night. After the council's decision made a morning time necessary, eight and twelve o'clock were chosen "so that so much as possible this decree of the council was not disobeyed."⁶²

Regensburg should also have specific hours for burial, according to the author of the Order of 1543; those which are most convenient should be chosen.⁶³ Two different arrangements appear in Hessian Orders. Kassel 1539 itself names the hour for normal burial: one o'clock in the afternoon. In times of plague a time in the morning and one in the afternoon were to be set. Hessen 1566, on the other hand, sets no general rule for a time for funerals, but leaves it free for each church to set a time if it find that convenient.⁶⁴ The composers of the Cologne Reformation also wished to have set hours for burial.⁶⁵ From the Genevan Ordonnances one gathers only that there were hours during which burial was forbidden, but nothing is said of setting a particular hour.⁶⁶ One does not receive the impression from these Orders that certain specific hours were customary over a wide area.

6. Bell

The ringing of the church bell in connection with death was one of the Catholic customs considered by the Protestants liable to be "superstitiously" interpreted as a call to pray for the soul of the deceased, and it does not appear at all in many of the Orders. In Nürnberg, reports Simon, the death toll was not necessary and had to be ordered and paid for by those who desired it. Bells in both St. Lorenz and St. Sebald were simultaneously tolled. The records show that in this city the practice decreased sharply in 1522 and only gradually revived somewhat in the late 1520's.⁶⁷ The Nürnberg Orders do not mention it.

In 1523 in Zurich it was announced that a death could be tolled from the Grossmünster if desired without payment, but if in addition it was to be tolled from other churches this would have to be paid for "as before." Nine months later, in June 1524, ringing bells for the dead was abolished, along with a number of other "superstitions.... which all go against the clear word of God," like extreme unction and the blessing of palms, salt, and water.⁶⁸ However, Lavater indicates that the bells were rung in the field. This was as a reminder to be present at burials or an admonition to prepare for death in good time, but not, he stressed, as something which helped the dead.⁶⁹ Bern forbade tolling for the dead in 1532, with a threatened penalty, according to Rohner-Baumberger,⁷⁰ but already in June 1530 the government had ordered areas under their control to cease the practice.⁷¹

When mentioned in our Orders as being allowed, tolling is given a very practical interpretation, as by Lavater. The Kurbrandenburg Order, which was copied at this point by Pfalz-Neuburg, reads:

When a member of the church has passed away, so that everyone is informed one may allow him to 'be rung' (lassen leuten), as was the custom up to now, and bury the body....⁷²

It is not absolutely clear from the text whether it was at the moment of death or shortly thereafter that the bell was rung, or whether it was when the procession formed to take the body to the grave. Grün assumes it meant the former.⁷³ However, Schnepf was unambiguous in Württemberg 1536. The bell was a sign "not for the good of the soul for the poor and rich alike, but that those who want to accompany the body may gather."⁷⁴

This was the reason given by Brenz in the Order of 1553/59 as well, from whence it was copied by Kurpfalz 1556 and Rothenburg 1559 Lindau 1555, Erbach 1560, and Hessen 1566 also have provision for a bell to be rung as a sign to gather the people for the funeral.⁷⁵ It is conceivable that this signal was not the same as the one used as the death knell.

7. Escort

Whether called together by a bell, knowing the fixed or customary hour, or informed and invited specifically, friends and neighbors generally would join the family at the house of the deceased to accompany the body to the grave. Even in places where the participation of the clergy at burials was not desired, the presence of other members of the community was not disparaged. Grün writes that a specific invitation, in some areas carried by a person who regularly fulfilled that office, was generally made.⁷⁶ He does not, however, give any evidence from southern Germany. In Geneva, according to a letter of 1554, relatives, neighbors and friends were informed after a death, which certainly is no basis for claiming that this was formally organized, but it does suggest a specific invitation. In Zurich, Lavater reports, it was announced to the neighbors.⁷⁷

The escort to the grave was considered an important sign of social solidarity. Brenz reasoned thus in the 1526 Order for Schwäbisch Hall:

The deceased is still our brother and has not fallen out of our society through death. We still remain members of one united (eins einigen) body. Therefore the Christian assembly should be earnestly admonished not to vigils and masses for souls as up to now, but rather...to diligently accompany the deceased to the grave.⁷⁸

The Protestants had drastically diminished the number of available ways to show how one was touched by the death of another. The procession remained, and the reformers supported it, though generally not encouraging pomp.

It could be led by the minister,⁷⁹ or by the schoolmaster and his pupils with the clergy following.⁸⁰ According to the Book of Common Prayer the priest met the procession from the house first at the stile

and from there went with it to the church or grave.⁸¹ In Sweden and elsewhere the pastor went to the house.⁸² There probably was a customary order, known in each place, in which the family, relatives, friends and neighbors took their places in the procession. Only De ritibus et institutis of Lavater and Hessen 1566 among our Orders refer to this. The latter says that after those carrying the body "the church and community (= minister and neighbors) follow in their order."⁸³ From somewhat later in Pfalz-Neuburg comes an indication of just how heavily the custom laid upon the shoulders of some people. The Generalartikel of 1576 admonish that

the dead body should be accompanied in an orderly procession to the graveyard by all persons who go with the body and the annoying confused walking (ergerlich durcheinanderlaufen) be stopped with all earnestness.⁸⁴

Grün, who uses evidence mostly from later in the century and from north and middle Germany, also points to this problem. That the escort was not only a sign of affection but also a social duty not always cheerfully done is indicated by his information that later the "Begleit" was required. Those not sending a representative could be fined.⁸⁵

8. Cemetery

References to the one cemetery or grave in the Church Orders are by and large casual ones, but this does not mean that the place of burial was of no importance. For example, the distance from the cemetery to the church appears to have sometimes been the determining factor in the decision whether to hold a sermon at the cemetery or in the church. The service book of the English congregation in Geneva reads:

The minister goeth to the church, if it be not farre of, and maketh some comfortable exhortacion to the people.⁸⁶

The Agende from 1555 for Lindau reports that a procession there,

because the churchyard appointed for burial lies far from the city, turns around at the city gate and everyone present goes into the usual parish church, with others besides, who come out of love for the word of God. Then at that time a sermon is held.⁸⁷

The location of the cemetery, as we have seen, affected the hours appointed for burial in Dinkelsbühl. They were earlier in winter than in summer so the mourners could return to the city from the graveyard with no problem before the gates were shut, and they were closed earlier when the days were shorter.⁸⁸

Usually the composers of the Orders have taken for granted that members of the church will be buried with their fellows in the common cemetery. Only in the early Order (1526) of Franz Lambert for Hessen is explicit permission given for a person to be buried where he wished to be. There is the single limitation that

no one should be buried in a monastery, lest the former abominations appear to be allowed anew.⁸⁹

His feeling on this point is even more explicitly expressed in his Paradoxa, which were published at the time his Order was being discussed at the synod of Homburg. In his seventeenth point against Catholic belief and practice he called it unchristian to hold that burial affects salvation and maintained that it makes no difference whether one is buried in the churchyard or in a field.⁹⁰ In his Order, however, he admitted that many have no burial place of their own, so the church should choose a place where all Christians are free (liberum) to be buried.⁹¹

While many abolished consecration of graves and cemeteries, the Protestants nevertheless believed that it was good to bury Christians decently. Not for dogmatic reasons but out of a sense of propriety and order the cemetery was the acceptable place of inhumation. Basel 1529 has only one sentence on burial and that directs that when someone dies

the body should be interred with decorum and honorably (mit zucht und ehrlich) in the place which we hereafter consider good. ⁹²

Burial should be, according to Kassel 1539, "common for all Christians with regard to the place of burial,"⁹³ and according to the Cologne Reformation "in the places appointed for that purpose."⁹⁴ If someone were not buried in the cemetery it could have meant that they were not church members, that they had been executed as criminals, or that they

had committed suicide, all of which cases we shall consider later. Anabaptists, whether motivated by the strong conviction that no earth was holier or preferable to any other as a resting place, or because they were excluded from use of the churchyard, sometimes buried their dead outside the cemetery.⁹⁵

For Zurich and, especially, Geneva we can say somewhat more about the cemeteries than what appears in their Orders. These cities were probably not atypical, if somewhat more austere in some provisions. As elsewhere the city councils decided where graveyards should be and made regulations concerning them. Gravestones were abolished by decree in Zurich in 1525. However, by 1559 Lavater could write of limitations on their size. They were evidently carved stone or metal tablets. Stones covering the whole grave were not allowed, to prevent a return of ostentatious grave display.⁹⁶ According to Rohner-Baumberger, in Geneva tombstones had disappeared before the reformation of the city, during times of plague when there were too many dead to provide stones for all. Gravediggers under oath were installed by both councils, with somewhat wider duties than their counterparts under Lutheran authorities.⁹⁷ This was probably a result of the custom of burials without the supervision and leadership of a minister. In Geneva the gravediggers had to promise that they would hinder superstitious action contrary to the word of God, that they would not carry any body to be buried at forbidden times, and that they would report any sudden death "to preclude all unseemliness which might occur."⁹⁸ Since 1536 the gravediggers of Geneva had been directed to establish and confirm the fact of death. Gradually more tasks were added. In 1547 the council decided that deaths should be registered. The gravediggers, or better, the enterreurs or porteurs as they were called in Geneva, were to wrap the corpse, or if the person were wealthy, put it in a coffin and bring it to the cemetery. Before burying it they were to report the name to the secrétaire du droit, who entered it in the register. They received a fixed wage, graduated according to whether it was the head of a household, another man, a woman, or a child who was buried.⁹⁹

There were several cemeteries for towns the size of Zurich or Geneva. In the former in Lavater's time there were four. According to his description there was no difference made in place or manner of burial between poor and rich persons.¹⁰⁰ The Genevan cemetery of Plainpalais was symmetrically divided into four sections, one of which

was reserved for the families of magistrates, council members, and ministers of the church. In the next the citoyens and bourgeois were buried. The remaining ones were for the other inhabitants and aliens.¹⁰¹

A graveyard often had to be newly situated because the old site was filled. The new one was then usually outside the town because that was where space was available or for hygienic reasons. The Pfalz-Neuburg Generalartikel are unique in suggesting that they be outside the walls if possible, to avoid frightening the young people. More common were the reasons added to this one: the "impure air" and the concern that the cemetery be properly kept and secure.¹⁰² For this last purpose Kaspar Löner recommended to Nördlingen's council that it have a cemetery surrounded by a wall "so that this holy place, where without doubt not a few saints rest, be closed (in)," just as the early Christians had honored the graves of their fellow Christians.¹⁰³

Without making specific application of the example of the early church with regard to the cemeteria, Hessen 1566 presents those ancient beliefs so copiously that it is clear that they were to be a model for the sixteenth century. Here the graveyard was not a place to be feared, but a reminder both of death and of resurrection for the passing Christians, who were to think of those resting there who served the church and the common good.¹⁰⁴ From a description of the funeral of Matthew Zell in Strasbourg we gain an impression of the cemetery of St. Urban where he was buried. It was outside the walls, and had been laid out in 1527. Enclosed by hedges, it contained trees; the graves were laid out in rows. On a small hill a cross stood as a reminder of the true faith.¹⁰⁵

9. Alms

Whether it was a custom carried over from the Roman obedience¹⁰⁶ which needed no mention because it could be taken for granted, or whether it was as rare as its appearance in the sections on burials in these Church Orders, at any rate only four mention the collection of alms at funerals. One of these is that in many ways conservative Order, Kurbrandenburg 1540. There a box for an offering for the poor was to be

set out in the church during the funeral service.¹⁰⁷ That almsgiving at funerals could be understood in a way unacceptable to Protestants is shown by Yelverton's report of Laurentius Petri's Order for the Swedish church:

He recommends charitable gifts, which he describes as "a good Christian work in itself," whether they be given by the friends of the deceased or bequeathed by him in his will; but here again he warns his readers of the dangers of superstitious ideas, for almsgiving is by God's commandment to help the poor, and not to secure remission of Purgatory for men's souls.¹⁰⁸

Vallerand Pullain's Order for the Walloon congregation directs that as the people are sent away after the burial they are to be admonished to give alms for the poor.¹⁰⁹ Micronius' translation of the Order of the Dutch congregation reveals their practice. After the people were dismissed with the benediction "the deacons collect the alms diligently from the people."¹¹⁰ It was, perhaps something still done as a matter of course in places with a normal parish structure, but which these reformers felt particularly important in their strangers' congregations. Both of these were among those mentioning alms in connection with visits to those who were sick and poor.

While some reformers may conceivably have felt the danger of misunderstanding was too great and that almsgiving, at funerals at least, was better abolished, in Strasbourg it seems to have continued. While it is not mentioned in the city's Orders, Bucer included mention of it in his "Brief Summary of Christian Doctrine" of 1548. After the final prayer "alms are to be given to the poor."¹¹¹

10. Bible

Bible texts were naturally not only sung at sixteenth-century funerals but also read, or sung not as hymns but as epistle or gospel.¹¹² They were sometimes left to stand alone as sources of comfort; at other times they formed the basis for a sermon or commentary. Here as in the case of hymns there are texts repeatedly mentioned by those Orders which give specific passages. Most frequently found is I Thessalonians 4.13-18, followed by John 11, either as the story of the raising of Lazarus or

just as the saying which begins: "I am the resurrection." Both of these were texts from the Roman requiem mass.¹¹³ The central Pauline texts on death and resurrection in I Corinthians 15 are equally obvious choices for the occasion, but after this there is less consensus among the Orders. A synopsis of the various recommendations is the clearest way to present these.

Job	Kurbrandenburg 1540
Job 1.21; 9; 19.25-27	English Prayerbook 1549, 1552
<u>"einige Psalmen"</u>	<u>Reformatio Hassiae</u> 1526
Psalms 42, 116, 139, 146	English Prayerbook 1549
Matthew 9.18-26 (raising of the ruler's daughter)	Schwäbisch Hall 1543 Cologne 1543
Luke 5.11-15 (healing of a leper)	Schwäbisch Hall 1543 Cologne 1543
John 5 (<u>"von der erstehung der toten"</u>)	Allstedt 1523/24
John 6.37-40	English Prayerbook 1549
John 11.21-27 or 21-45 (raising of Lazarus)	Schwäbisch Hall 1543 Cologne 1543 Württemberg 1553/59 Kurpfalz 1556
John 11.25f. ("I am the resurrection")	Brandenburg-Nürnberg 1528 Kurbrandenburg 1540 English Prayerbook 1549, 1552
Paul (<u>"de resurrectione"</u>)	Kurbrandenburg 1540
I Corinthians 15.20-28 or 29	Strasbourg 1537-61 Württemberg 1553/59 Kurpfalz 1556
I Corinthians 15.20-58	English Prayerbook 1549, 1552
I Corinthians 15.50-58	Strasbourg 1537-61
Philippians 3.20f.	Strasbourg 1537-61
I Thessalonians 4.13-18	Allstedt 1523/24 Brandenburg-Nürnberg 1528 Sweden, <u>Handbock</u> 1529 Brandenburg-Nürnberg 1533 Württemberg 1536 Strasbourg 1537-61 Kurbrandenburg 1540 Schwäbisch Hall 1543 Pfalz-Neuburg 1543

Cologne 1543
 Amberg 1544 (probably)
 English Prayerbook 1549
 Württemberg 1553/59
 Kurpfalz 1556

I Timothy 6.7

English Prayerbook 1549, 1552

Revelation 14.13

Pfalz-Neuburg 1543

11. Sermon

The sermons held at sixteenth-century Protestant burials can roughly be categorized as three types which, while often combined when actually preached, were recognized as differing in their aims. From the earliest period of reformed Orders the distinction between the "dogmatic" sermon (Lehrpredigt) and the "consolatory" sermon (Trostpredigt) was explicitly or implicitly made. The Rothenburg Order, for example, directs that a "short admonition (kurze vermanung)" be spoken at the funeral, "or instead of that (whichever is most useful) a short comforting sermon (tröstlich predig)".¹¹⁴ In the Herrschaft Thüngen the pastor held "a short sermon either about dying, from whence in the beginning death came, the varieties of death..., (or) a sermon of consolation (trostpredigt)".¹¹⁵ While the distinction partly coincides with that between Trostpredigt and Vermahnung, a strict division does not always seem appropriate.

Emerging from the increasing use of the life and death of the deceased as appropriate (and hopefully effective) examples for the lessons of the first type of sermon and the solace of the second, a third type developed in the late sixteenth and on into the seventeenth centuries. Reaching a peak in the 1670's in Lutheranism, it was in part a literary as well as an oral phenomenon. Such sermons were frequently not only preached, but printed, often after being reworked.¹¹⁶ The trend toward a more personal funeral sermon was so strong that the term Leichenpredigt, earlier referring not just to a sermon containing references to the life and death of the person being buried but generally to a sermon in connection with burial, became the technical term for the genre in the form of

the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the Orders we are considering, however, the term "Leichenpredigt" or "Leichpredigt" does not necessarily mean that the pastor used or included the personal life of the deceased.

Here we return to the first two types of funeral sermons; sermons tending more toward the third, Leichenpredigten in the later, narrower sense, will be discussed in the next section. When one considers how many of the Orders specifically mentioning a sermon, Ermahnung, or Vermahnung also refer to it as "short", it is clear that no sermon of the normal Sunday length was envisioned. However, as shortness is a relative matter the content suggested in some Orders is better than a mere adjective in giving some idea of what these sermons were to be like. A few go further and print a model sermon which could be used as written or taken as an indication of elements which could be expressed in other words.¹¹⁷

The Vermahnung offered by Brandenburg-Nürnberg 1533, which was to be held either at the house or by the grave, "where the most people are present," was used by Osiander in the Order of Pfalz-Neuburg 1543. It consists merely of a long sentence as introduction to the reading of I Thessalonians 4.13-18:

Devoted, beloved brothers and sisters in the Lord, because almighty God has summoned through death N., our friend, brother, and member of Christ from this wretched life in the true, Christian faith (as we hope) to his eternal rest, and we thereby are moved to grieve, lament, and mourn, so that we behave ourselves therein in a Christian manner we want to hear the comforting word of Saint Paul....¹¹⁸

Veit Dietrich wrote for his Agendbüchlein a longer exhortation which was to give the approximate content but was not necessarily to be repeated in the same words. Jakob Andreae took it over as a whole into his Order for Rothenburg.¹¹⁹ Since it is still quite short and because it is interesting to see what this Lutheran pastor would have included in a simple address at a burial, we give a translation of the whole:

Most dearly beloved, you see how we are reminded by daily example that we have here no lasting city, but must rather await death at every hour. Therefore we should stand in continual readiness, cease sinning, better our life and become more pious, so that when God bids us (uber uns gebieten wllrd) (which we must expect really every moment), he may find us fearing him, in a right faith and true love toward our neighbors. However, because the devil (der böse feind) and our flesh always drives us to sin and leads us away from the fear of God, it is very necessary that we first pray from our hearts that God will be gracious to us and forgive all our sin, thereafter, that he will enlighten our hearts by his Holy Spirit, that we increase and grow in the fear of God and in the faith and in love toward our neighbor and may await his splendid coming in good conscience, so that we do not miss the bridegroom like the foolish virgins, but rather with our lamps and oil, that is, with right faith and good conscience, advance to the Lord Christ and that we may inherit the eternal life through him. To gain all this, pray with devotion the Lord's Prayer.¹²⁰

Richter does not print the model sermons provided by Johannes Brenz for Schwäbisch Hall 1543 and given in the Reformation of Cologne. Brenz wished to have one of these read in the church or have "otherwise an address that is Christian, suitable and appropriate to the matter at hand held."¹²¹ The Cologne Order, while printing the models of Brenz, also gives an idea of the content of the short "erinnerung und vermanung" which was to accompany a passage from the Bible. Here are to be found virtually all the themes considered by our Orders to be appropriate on such occasions. The listeners were to hear of the weight of sin and the wrath of God, the source of death, then the power of the redemption of Christ, "who took away sin, killed death (den todt getödtet), and acquired, began and certainly prepared for us the new heavenly life by his resurrection and ascension." They were to be comforted in their grief for the deceased because through faith he had pressed through from death to life ("vom todt zum leben hindurch gedrungen") and lives with the Lord, awaiting them. Further they were to be admonished to die daily to sin, to prepare themselves for the heavenly life, and to "pray for a blessed end."¹²²

This list of themes for the funeral sermon is the most copious found in our Orders and omits scarcely any topic mentioned in the others. The Order for the Dutch in London has a list nearly as long and one must wonder how "a short admonition" could include "usually" all the following:

(a) how death entered through Adam, (b) and how it was overcome and suffered anew through Christ; (c) on the resurrection of the body, (d) and the eternal life. He (the minister) proves, too, (e) how uncertain our life is and how the day of the Lord comes, like a thief, (f) therefore he admonishes each one to watch and to pray.... Above ¹²³all the congregation is admonished to betterment of life.

Some orders imply give "death and resurrection" as the area to be treated in the address.¹²⁴ Hohenlohe 1553 calls for "a short sermon and admonition about the resurrection of the Christians etc."¹²⁵ The greatest consensus on a motif is for consolation of the mourners. Most Orders merely give comfort as the aim or one of the aims of the sermon, as is the case in Strasbourg 1537-61, Württemberg 1553/59, Kurpfalz 1556, and Lindau 1555, without giving an indication of what would be considered consoling other than suggesting Bible texts. Erhard Schnepf in his 1536 Order for Württemberg was only somewhat more elaborate. The minister was instructed to read I Thessalonians 4.13ff. and then to speak on death and the resurrection or topics of this tenor. If the grief were great on the part of the mourners, "he should comfort them with the gracious promises of the holy gospel, so that they do not overstep the line for Christians with their mourning."¹²⁶

The Order for Thüngen (1564) offers the choice between two sermon types. First, as mentioned above, the pastor may give a more dogmatic or instructive sermon on the origins and forms of death, the distinction between a Christian and an unchristian death, how one may die well and blessedly ("seliglich"), how one should prepare for such a death, and similar matters. Alternatively, he may hold a "Trostpredigt", but this address of consolation should not just comfort the bereaved in that particular case, "but rather generally everyone at death (in sterbensnot)."¹²⁷ Comfort, too, seems here to be a lesson to be learned as preparation for death.

Modification of behavior as well as consolation is an aim of the reformers. Lessons to be learned from the death and burial of a friend or family member go beyond the rather abstractly expressed "preparing for death" of the Orders for Thüngen and Württemberg (1536). The latter includes as grounds for the proclamation of the word of God at the burial that "the people are reminded of death, deterred (abgeschreckt) from the

life of wickedness, trained in the Christian preparation for death and the hope of the resurrection."¹²⁸ The Lindau Agenda (1555) sees the sermon as admonishing to repentance as well as comforting the bereaved.¹²⁹ Strasbourg Orders from 1537 to 1561 view the proper response to the gospel as being not only being consoled but also being reminded of sin "in which we all still stick, from which death and all troubles come, so that we daily die unto it more and direct ourselves through all godliness into the future heavenly state."¹³⁰ When the dead were announced to the congregation, according to the Ulm Order, the listeners were to be reminded of "our mortality, the more earnestly to die to the desires of the flesh."¹³¹

Considering Bucer's influence on these last two Orders it comes as no surprise to read his thoughts as he discussed burials in his "Brief Summary of Christian Doctrine" of 1548:

In addition (to being reminded of the judgement of God and the salvation and resurrection of Christ), the people are to be exhorted to repent of their sins and to hope firmly in the blessed resurrection and the life of heaven, and also to foster an earnest zeal and longing for this life to come, with the constant mortification of the old Adam and advancement of the new.¹³²

Bucer's particular emphasis on one's faith having an effect upon the way one leads one's life can be felt here.

With the burial sermon viewed as an excellent opportunity for teaching and giving solace, it would be only logical to hold one at each grave so far as possible. Since they were still nearly unanimously expected to be short, it would seem even easier to do this. The Church Orders have a frustrating way of making sweeping but general rules, which, while in this case not denying any good Christian a sermon, also do not guarantee it. Those that include an address of some kind seem to assume that whenever a minister is present he will hold one. Thus the selection process is back at the point of the minister being present, that is, who would request his presence and who would not if it is not virtually automatic.¹³³

For our area only the Orders for Nördlingen explicitly touch the question of over whose corpse a sermon was preached. In the one from 1544 "a short common exhortation (gemeine vermanung) by each corpse"¹³⁴

is prescribed. At least that was to be common to all Christians. "But," it continues, "if someone wants to have a better or longer one, from whichever minister it may be, if he desires it, it should be granted, just as was said with regard to the wedding sermon."¹³⁵ The 1555 Order for the main parish, St. George's, basically directs that Lõner's 1544 Order for the city should be followed for burials. The sermon ("leichpredigt") or short exhortation was to be held "by rich and poor,"¹³⁶ a slightly more specific phrase than that of the 1544 Order. Could it be that in practice a distinction with regard to the basic sermon was being made here?

In contrast to these is the non-directive style of Hohenlohe 1553, which states that "the pastor also holds, according to the time and occasion, before or after the burial, a short sermon and exhortation."¹³⁷ While it sounds as though an address was usual, nonetheless it was evidently left up to the discretion of the individual pastor. Knauer's Dinkelsbühl Bericht testifies to the uncertainties about at whose funeral a sermon should be held. Besides in the cases of those not yet receiving the eucharist or excommunicants, which we shall discuss in section fifteen, there were questions about sermons at the funerals of adult communicants. Here it was clear to Knauer that sermons should be held.¹³⁸ In a city where due to the Interim the Protestants had been forbidden to worship and where, except for a short period in the 1550's, they were free to do so again only after 1567 and in coexistence with a strong Catholic party, Knauer appreciated the funeral sermon as a missionary instrument.¹³⁹ This suggests, of course, that Catholics attended Protestant burials. If they did, it is a sign of the weight given family connections and social duty.

With regard to the funeral sermons the second half of the century brought changes in a number of places. The Memmingen clergy received permission to hold Leichenpredigten upon request in the 1550's. They were held in Augsburg after 1565. Simon Sulzer held one for Oswald Myconius in Basel with 2 Timothy 4.7 as his text in 1551, though Rohner-Baumberger states that they seem to have been introduced in the 1570's.¹⁴⁰

12. Personal References

As the funeral sermon developed in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it became quite normal for it to contain more and more elaborate references to the personal life, faith and death of the deceased. The term Leichenpredigt, as we said above, now suggests specifically a sermon containing these references and they are a gold mine for researchers from various disciplines since many were printed. The personalia which earlier might have been very basic and simply read, perhaps by the schoolmaster as we have mentioned, came to be the center of the sermon as an application of the biblical text, in a manner alien to the early Protestant reformers.¹⁴¹

Earlier, however, in the Orders with which we are concerned, no distinctions in the use of the terms Predigt, Vermahnung, Leichenpredigt, or Unterricht seem to be made with regard to style or content so consistently and unambiguously that it is possible or necessary to differentiate between them when translating or discussing them. Only a few Orders make it clear that the later, more confined sense of Leichenpredigt might be applicable to the sermons they mention. The earliest of these are from the 1540's. Sermons of an earlier date, such as Luther's at the funerals of the Electors Friedrich the Wise and Johann of Saxony, or Brenz' for the knight Dietrich of Gemmingen (with I Thessalonians 4 as text)¹⁴² show that earlier Protestant funeral sermons contained references to the person being buried. However, they do not seem to have been common, nor to have been held for less-privileged people, as was later the case. Nor were the remarks about the person the central feature of these earlier sermons.

The fear that the funeral sermon could become a eulogy of the departed is reflected in the Cologne Reformation. This gives the reasons why mention of the deceased's life could be allowed, but does not make this a general permission and fences it about with cautions:

And where the Lord has shown on the part of the departed people some special grace in their life and death and set before us an example of faith, they should be reported and praised, to the praise of the Lord and betterment of the congregation of God, with temperate and god-fearing narration. However in this it will be diligently supervised by the preacher, that they do not speak to please people, but from a pure heart alone further the improvement of the church with the praise of the gifts

of God. To this purpose the text of the apostle Paul in the first (letter) to the Thessalonians in the fourth (chapter), among others, serves well, where he says: "But we would not keep back from you, dear brothers, of those who are asleep etc." (v.13f.).¹⁴³

The sermon was then to follow, for which the Order offers the model sermons from Schwäbisch Hall 1543.

Pullain also permitted mention of the deceased, but by the minister, not the laity as the Cologne reformers evidently envisioned. The dead person could be commended in the address if he or she had virtues which could serve as examples for edification of the church.¹⁴⁴ Micronius' translation of à Lasco's Order for the Dutch congregation in London records that there, too, "great virtues in the deceased are pointed out to the glory of God, and the congregation is admonished to imitate these."¹⁴⁵

Hessen 1566 is the only Order which supports the funeral sermon with the example of the early church. It directs that just as by Ambrose, Gregory Nazianzus and others, a short sermon was to be held on the customary themes and about "the faith and life of the deceased, and confession of their faith and their blessed passing (Abschied)."¹⁴⁶

By the latter part of the century dangers and problems of this practice were recognized. For example, the 1578 Order for Hohenlohe points out that the sermon should agree with the truth about how the deceased lived and died. This takes us beyond the chronological limits of the chart, however, and the situation illuminated by documents from Regensburg from 1572 and 1588 we shall relegate to a note.¹⁴⁷

One should notice that in these Orders it is the life and the death, the living and the dying of the departed person that are held to be significant. Both complexes of events were important in judging a person. The version of Hedio's announcement from the pulpit of Zell's death contained in a Latin poem from 1548 was typical: "Matthew Zell exchanged last night life with death, but in such a way that he has now achieved a better share and possesses in heaven the inheritance of the blessed."¹⁴⁸

While certainly the accounts of the faith, the lives and the deaths at the funerals were primarily meant to serve as examples - inspiring, reassuring, or frightening the listeners - their repetition, if reasonably credible, could have aided the natural 'sorting-out' process which follows a death. They could have helped in the process of

grieving by working to clarify the minds of the bereaved and the company present with regard to how to think of the deceased and how to remember the person.

13. Prayers

So long as a layperson could at least repeat the Lord's Prayer there might have been a prayer at the simplest burial. It seems probable that this prayer was said more often at the graveside than the Church Orders reveal, and ten of the twenty-two explicitly mentioning prayer name this one, for it was the basic item in the devotional store.

While the Protestants could still repeat the Lord's Prayer at the graveside just as the Roman Catholics could, there were many other prayers of the tradition which could not be shared after reformation. Instead of believing that his or her prayers could help the dead be forgiven or enter into heaven, the Protestant could only trust in the happiness of the deceased. "So we are sure enough," wrote Brenz for the 1553/59 Württemberg Order,

that whoever departs this world in the faith and trust in our one Lord and Saviour Christ has already, without our wishes, desire, intercession, help and assistance, the rest of the eternal blessed life.¹⁴⁹

Knowing in what state someone passed away helped in reckoning the chances, but the general tone of the prayers and sermons of these Orders gives the departed the benefit of the doubt and does not encourage calculation.

Recognizing the hiddenness of the ways of God, Olavus Petri composed a prayer in the conditional:

... hear our earnest prayer, that, if the estate of this our brother (sister) doth allow that we pray for him (her), then we may turn to thee with one accord and pray that thou wilt show him (her) thy mercy....¹⁵⁰

Instead of prayer for the dead in the strictest sense, the prayers of the Württemberg Orders, the 1549 Book of Common Prayer, and Kurpfalz 1556 "commend" the deceased to the grace of God.¹⁵¹ The Order for St. Martin's in Amberg directs the priest at the beginning of his sermon to commend "the soul of the dead to the grace and mercy of God."¹⁵² A similar

expression in the 1549 English Prayerbook was too much for the revisers and no suggestion of any prayer for the dead is found in the second book. The first commended the soul to God and the body to the earth in two places, continuing the second time:

besechyng thyne infinite goodnesse, to geve us grace to lyve in thy feare and love, and to dye in thy favoure: that when the judgmente shall come which thou haste committed to thy welbeloved sonne, both this our brother, and we, may be found acceptable in thy sight.¹⁵³

A further prayer, giving thanks for the deceased and asking God to grant "that at the daye of judgement his soule and all the soules of thy electe, departed out of this lyfe, may with us and we with them, fully receive thy promisses,"¹⁵⁴ became in 1552 a thanksgiving for deliverance of "N. our brother out of the myseryes of this sinneful world." The prayer goes on to petition God

to haste thy kingdome, that we with this our brother, and al other departed in the true faith of thy holy name, maye have our perfect consummacion and blisse....¹⁵⁵

À Lasco's prayer in Micronius' translation sounds indeed similar to a funeral collect from the Book of Common Prayer, as the editor of the texts in Sehling points out. However, it sounds not so much like the prayer in the 1549 Prayerbook as suggested there, but like the revised one from the 1552 edition. Yet while the thoughts are similar, the language of À Lasco is more in the spirit of Bucer than in that of the Prayerbook:

We thank you, eternal and merciful father, that you have freed our brother (or sister) N. from the misery of this world in the faith of your son Jesus Christ, and have taken his soul into your kingdom, whose body you will also awaken in its time to the immortal honor. We pray you, strengthen us with your Holy Spirit, that we may count this transient life as little (diss vergengliche leben klein achten) and may always look upon you and live before you in holiness and righteousness, so that we may pass away in the faith of your Son from here to you and may eternally live by you through the same, your son, alone.¹⁵⁶

In Zurich there seems to have been no prayers at the burial, but Lavater reported that afterwards people entered the church for quiet prayer. Such prayers were not for the deceased, he pointed out, but for the bereaved family, "and that the Lord grant them all that they consider the miseries of this life and long for heaven."¹⁵⁷ On the Sunday

following, the assembled church was read the names of the departed. The form used included guidance for a prayer which should praise and thank God

that he took these our brothers in true faith and hope out of this misery, relieved (them of) all distress and toil, and set them in eternal joy. Thereby ask God also that he grant that we lead our lives in such a way that we, too, may be led in true faith and his grace out of this vale of woe into the eternal company of his elect. Amen. ¹⁵⁸

Another aspect of the Protestant funeral prayers is evident: they were for the living, as the ritual basically was. In the Reformatio Hassiae the prayer asks for the living that "sancte vivant et moriantur."¹⁵⁹ In other Orders the petition was that they improve their lives, have a Christian death and a happy resurrection.¹⁶⁰ The prayer from Strasbourg's Orders of 1537-61 joins a number of themes:

Almighty God and father, strengthen us all in faith in the resurrection to which you have called us in Christ Jesus, our Lord, so that therefore we comfort ourselves (on account) of the passing (abscheyds) of our brother (our sister) whose body we now according to your command have committed to the earth, and (on account) of the troubles which we justly suffer in this vale of woe because of our sins. Also (that) therefore we seek to direct our heart and spirit (gemüt) toward what is future and divine, which is above, where Christ is your Son, our Lord, sitting to your right (hand), and therefore daily die more to sins and serve you in all holiness and righteousness all the days of our life through the same our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen. ¹⁶¹

14. Announcement of Deaths

One of our Orders, that for Lindau (1555), prescribes that in the regular sermon a "leichpredigt" to be held is to be announced, since they were held at no regular time.¹⁶² This was clearly to inform people when they could come to hear an extra sermon, rather than to announce a death. The announcement in Zurich had quite a different purpose. It was the sum of church ceremony for the dead.

The burial was carried out by friends, family, guild and neighbors. The minister, according to the Praedicantenordnung of 1532, was to admonish the people to honorably bury them "with propriety and Christian humility."¹⁶³ After a death, in the service the following Sunday after the sermon, the death was to be announced with the words of a form given in the Order from 1529:

Because nothing warns a person of himself more than death, it is not unfruitful to name those before us who have died from our community, so that we may daily prepare ourselves for such a journey and watch in all things. And these are the brothers and sisters who this week were called by God: N.N.¹⁶⁴

It continued with the exhortation to prayer which is quoted in the previous section. It was therefore, something more substantial than a mere announcement of a list of names. According to Smend the practice was carried over from pre-Reformation use in Zurich. Furthermore, the Manuale of Johann Ulrich Sargent, who was important for Zwingli's liturgical development, contains an order of worship with a form for the announcement of deaths.¹⁶⁵ In Bern and Basel, but not in Geneva, there also was an announcement of deaths in the worship service.¹⁶⁶

A very similar pattern is found in the Ulm Order of 1531. It also calls for burial "with all propriety and Christian humility" to which the minister is to admonish the people. The departed Christians are to be announced to the congregation, the Lord thanked for them, and the listeners reminded of their mortality in order to increase their zeal in "dying to the desire of the flesh."¹⁶⁷

Interestingly, another earlier south German Order, that of Brenz for Schwäbisch Hall from 1526, calls for the announcement in the daily service ("tagampt") following a burial. Then the friends and relatives were to be comforted with the Word of God and the other listeners admonished to be ready to follow the call of God, whenever and however it comes.¹⁶⁸ Grün reports a similar announcement before a burial from northern Germany and a simple mention of the names in an Order of 1570,¹⁶⁹ but nothing resembling the Swiss form seems to have been common much further north.

15. Refusal of "Church" Funeral

The formula in the Zurich Order is clearly for announcing the deaths of those who died in the faith. Woven into the provisions of other Orders, too, is the implication that the burial of the church or an honorable burial was for those who did not scorn the sacraments and teaching of the church. Wherever there was some organized form of discipline with excommunication, it was fairly clear who should be refused burial with the usual ceremonies, be those with clerical accompaniment or merely with a procession of friends and neighbors.

When Lambert of Avignon wrote of free choice of burial places, he excluded the monasteries as a possibility. From among those having such choice he excluded people who were "excommunicatus."¹⁷⁰ The Kassel Order for Hessen, which calls for the system for church discipline set out in the Ziegenhain Order, quite baldly states that the ministers "should go with no bodies of those who did not depart in the community of the church and sacraments."¹⁷¹ In the Ziegenhain Zuchtordnung for the same territory it is those who "despise the ban," that is, who do not repent, and die while still under it, who are to be refused the service of the minister at the burial.¹⁷² A later Order for Hessen, that of 1566, desires that the stubbornly unrepentant scorers of the church and its admonitions concerning doctrine and deed be buried somewhere other than with the pious. They were considered "not worthy" to be interred by a minister.¹⁷³

The Cologne Reformation also refuses to bury those "who die in public contempt of the community of Christ" with the believers, "still less" to have them accompanied to the grave by a minister.¹⁷⁴

More positively expressed, but still implicitly refusing a respectable burial under the auspices of the church to some, is the provision in the Lindau Agenda of 1555 that the bell and accompaniment are for the person who dies "who went to the holy sacrament of the altar."¹⁷⁵ Other Orders which are not explicit enough in refusing a church burial to some and which are therefore not marked on the chart as fitting in this category assume that the usual ceremonies are for those in communion with the church. Thus on the point particularly no conclusions should be drawn merely on the basis of the absence from inclusion here of any Order.

While we have mentioned only excommunicants, there were others denied a "Christian burial", though customs were not alike everywhere. Laurentius Petri in the Swedish Order of 1561/71 listed: suicides, those

excommunicated, and "impenitent scoffers at religion." Infants who died before they were baptized could be buried in the cemetery, according to Petri, but the priest need not participate.¹⁷⁶ Executed criminals were another category. Pastoral care in that case, in those of suicide and when a child died before baptism will be considered in the chapter to follow. A further group appears in some considerations of the superintendents of Kurpfalz from 1556:

If anyone dies without use of the sacraments and other proper services of the church in Anabaptist or Schwenckfeldian error, the same shall be buried neither with the ringing of the bells nor with a sermon.¹⁷⁷

This does not tell anything about the place of burial, but suggests that interment with none of the customary rituals was considered in itself a shameful punishment. Customs and regulations differed from place to place so that no generalization can be accurate about how many of the usual ceremonies were denied which people, and one forms the impression that not all regulations were strictly held when a situation called for another solution. In theory the burial affected the dead in no way. Thus a shameful inhumation could only serve to punish or to warn the living, and when other considerations were stronger it seems that the rules could be bent.

An example of a pastor's concern that none of his flock fall prey unawares to the provisions of the Order governing church life are the comments of Knauer in Dinkelsbühl on the margin of his copy of the Zweibrücken Order of 1557 then in use in his city. He recorded, in what was later called the "Bericht", that as he was in Pfalz-Neuburg as pastor before coming to Dinkelsbühl he had asked at a visitation whether a funeral sermon was to be held only for those who have been to communion. Learning that it was so, and that both those who never went and those cut off from the eucharist were thus excluded, he warned his congregation. Not wanting to give anyone grounds for complaint, he said if anyone did not commune for a year and a half and continued to thus show themselves to be non-Christian, they should not expect a Christian burial with the minister participating should they suddenly die. He also warned his Dinkelsbühl flock. Where possible, though, he would win over someone, even on their deathbed, "and grab (abjagen) a soul from the devil with joy."¹⁷⁸

16. Epidemics

It was not always because they had not died as Christians that some were laid to earth without the customary ceremonies and that the bereaved did without the supporting presence of friends and neighbors in a procession to the grave. During an epidemic the sheer number of dead required a departure from regular patterns, and the fear of infection kept those who could avoid contact with others, especially with those having disease in the house, at a distance. Not many of these Church Orders deal specifically with such occasions, though they were tragically far from rare. The Orders were basically written to regulate and guide the normal life of the inhabitants. Special situations could be regulated by edict.

When Hieronymus Noppus tried to lengthen the time between death (or apparent death) and burial, this was specifically not to apply "in dangerous airs (fehrlichen laufften) such as in times of epidemic (sterbenszeiten)".¹⁷⁹ Perhaps out of awareness of the dangers of infection which was thought to be carried as well as caused by bad air, and of the amount of time that would be required, the Order for Kassel recommends that the schoolboys be exempted from accompanying bodies during epidemics. Furthermore, two times each day instead of one are to be set for burials, one in the morning and one in the afternoon.¹⁸⁰

Otherwise our Orders say nothing in their sections on burial about changes to meet the special problems during times of plague. However, the marginal commentary to his copy of the Order used in Dinkelsbühl by Pastor Knauer gives a fuller picture of what might have been done by the clergy at such times. The pastors and priests of both confessions agreed that the funeral processions would halt at the city gate rather than accompany a body all the way to the grave. Further, no funeral sermons would be held. Instead, an extra sermon during the week was held on Tuesday, with confession and absolution on Wednesday for those who wished to commune at the eucharist held during the epidemic after the Thursday sermon.¹⁸¹ This extra communion was part of the preparation for a death which could strike suddenly at a time when there were not enough clergy to administer the sacrament to all the dying. Knauer finally noted that on Sundays and holy days a litany was regularly said rather than a collect,¹⁸² that is, a longer and specific prayer of intercession. Except for cancelling the funeral sermon, the usual ministry was intensified as a reaction to the crisis. In the following chapter the subject of the pastoral ministry during times of plague will be discussed in more detail.

17. Catholic Customs

The burial takes place by us in all simplicity, without all pomp, heathen or papist character; and everything which is done by the body serves the teaching and consolation of the living and not the dead.¹⁸³

When compared with the Catholic ceremonies for the dead, even Kurbrandenburg 1540 calls for simple ceremonies, though not as thoroughly simple as in the London strangers' congregation whose Order is quoted here. In Kurbrandenburg a cross was still carried in the procession to the grave, a practice also continued in Regensburg.¹⁸⁴ In places where candles were customary Kurbrandenburg's Order allows them "with moderation." Until the 1557 Order for Amberg was published, candles were also still used there.¹⁸⁵ In Amberg it was left to the minister's discretion to decide whether to wear the surplice out-of-doors, but in the church it was required "as usual."¹⁸⁶ The continuation or abolition of bell-ringing was dealt with in section six. Except in the Swedish Church Order of 1561/71, where the custom of shrouding the body is commended, shrouds and biers are not mentioned in these Orders.¹⁸⁷

Olavus Petri allowed one custom, though he reformed it, which is not found in any of the other Orders. It survived the 1541 revision of the Handbook by his brother Laurentius only with a less provocative title, to disappear altogether from the 1557 edition. This was the "consecration" or "hallowing" of the deceased before the body was removed from the house to be buried. Olavus Petri indicated that this short ritual of a comforting exhortation, Bible text, and prayer for the soul of the dead (again in the conditional: "if...our prayers can avail") would be held only if requested.¹⁸⁸ The Church Order of 1561/71, writes Yelverton, "describes the hallowing of the dead as sheer superstition, and substitutes for it a direction to the Priest to 'comfort the friends and family of the deceased with the word of God'"¹⁸⁹ before the body is carried from the house.

Another unique feature from the Swedish books is the direction in the 1561/71 Order that the company at the grave is to be "advised not to have fear of ghostly apparitions, since, if they rightly believe in God's protection, neither devil nor spook can do any harm to the souls of the living or the departed."¹⁹⁰

A communion service in connection with the burial is found only in the 1549 Book of Common Prayer. In his Censura Bucer did not condemn this, and even commended the prayer in this liturgy for being for the living (rather than for the dead as he felt the previous ones were). Nonetheless, communion was not kept in the 1552 edition.¹⁹¹

To distance themselves and their practices from the Catholics the composers of several Orders were content to condemn all "superstitious and heathen" customs which were meant to help the dead and not the living, as in Württemberg 1553/59, Kurpfalz 1556, and Rothenburg 1559.¹⁹² Kurpfalz 1563 simply declares: "In the funeral all papist and superstitious ceremonies should be avoided."¹⁹³ Lambert of Avignon hoped to avoid "abominations" by not allowing burial in monasteries in his Hessian Reformatio of 1526. Though he undoubtedly meant the vigils and masses for the dead among other things, he was explicit only in regard to the doctrine of purgatory. That should not be taught by anyone on pain of excommunication and if the person is a minister, loss of his position.¹⁹⁴

Billican attacked in his Renovatio the avarice, the indulgences and vigils of the Roman priests and what he saw as their effect on attitudes towards the dead: a killing of charity toward the dead and of hope in their resurrection. The saints, he said, intercede for us, but he did not believe they should be petitioned for help since it was not certain whether they heard our prayers. He did not consider it worthwhile to discuss questions about the consecration of herbs, salt and water, or regulations about clothing, days, food, vigils, anniversaries of deaths and such matters. Others had written enough on these subjects.¹⁹⁵

On the grounds for the rejection of vigils and offices for the dead and "all papist pomp" connected with these such as holy water, Veit Dietrich did not go into elaborate explanation in his Agendbüchlein. They were inventions of the pope and against the word of God.¹⁹⁶ That, of course, was sufficiently damning, for it was the summary form for all Protestant criticisms.

18. Grieving

Even with death a far more familiar occurrence than we can perhaps imagine from our cultural standpoint, the people of the sixteenth century were not so hardened that they did not grieve for family and friends. Furthermore, none of the leading reformers expected or suggested that Christians should feel no grief, but believed it should be tamed by their faith. The guide was I Thessalonians 4.13: "But we would not have you ignorant, brethren, concerning those who are asleep, that you may not grieve as others do who have no hope. For since we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so, through Jesus, God will bring with him those who have fallen asleep."

We have marked Orders as containing guidance on grieving if they merely mention that this text was to be read, and a number offer nothing more.¹⁹⁷ The English Prayerbook of 1549 includes it as the epistle for the communion service, and both the 1549 and 1552 editions use the theme in a collect.¹⁹⁸ Others recommend it as the basis for an address to the assembled mourners. Olavus Petri included it as the epistle and there are references to the topic in his model sermon. His remarks on I Thessalonians 4 offer as the hope which enables "Christian" mourning the hope in one's own resurrection less than the resurrection of the departed, though this is of course implied. While he allowed that moderate sorrow for a friend is "not blameworthy", yet

when we behold some man die, we shall rather grieve that ours is such a poor and wretched life that it must end in death, than grieve that our friend is departed from us.... We shall not sorrow and grieve overmuch that our friends are departed, for they are now released from the misery and peril which are ours, and they are now come to the peace of Christ, where they shall rest until the last judgement. Then shall we come together with them again.¹⁹⁹

Nürnberg's 1533 admonition, for which I Thessalonians is given as the text, is "that we behave Christianly" in grief and suffering.²⁰⁰ The Bible passage serves to explain this manner of Christian grieving. This text is also the only one given as a pericope for funeral sermons by Württemberg 1536. The short "instruction" is especially devoted to comforting the bereaved with the promise of the gospel only "if the grief of the relatives be so great", in order that "they do not overstep

the line for Christians with their mourning." Otherwise the sermon was to be on death, resurrection, and such themes.²⁰¹ Weissenburg 1528 and Faber's report for St. Martin's in Amberg from 1550, however, both instruct that the sermon is to explain the proper way to grieve.²⁰²

In Schwäbisch Hall 1543 and the Cologne Reformation not only the topic, but the text has become optional. There were four possible pericopes which formed the basis for the model sermons given.²⁰³ Württemberg 1553/59 and Kurpfalz 1556 also list I Thessalonians as one of four optional sermon texts. They share with Württemberg 1536 the direction that the sermon is to be on "death and resurrection and such topics", but change the reference of the last word by continuing immediately: "... (such topics) as are appropriate to the corpse and comfort of those who are troubled."²⁰⁴ The earlier Order's emphasis of special consideration for the mourners has disappeared. It appears that the later development of the Leichenpredigt as centered more on the deceased is presaged, though the living are still the basic concern of the pastor.

19. Mortality

The reinterpretation of the funeral by the Protestant reformers necessitated instruction of their flocks. When Church Orders give explanations of the significance of their burial practices these were not part of an academic exercise in completeness. They were intended, one feels, to provide their readers with arguments and instructional material. The next three sections discuss the widely-shared interpretations.

The Orders which saw death and burial as reminders of the mortality of all people, often with the correlative stimulus to correction and reform, carried on the medieval tradition of the memento mori.²⁰⁵ The Ulm Order of 1531 simply instructs that when the death is announced to the congregation the minister should remind the people "of our mortality, the more earnestly to die to the desire of the flesh."²⁰⁶ The others containing this motif can be divided according to the aspect of mortality which they emphasize.

For Olavus Petri the knowledge that "we must one day die and our body must rot and return to earth" acted as an unmistakable sign of the "wretchedness" of our lives. The corpse was "a mirror of us all" and shows us how corrupt the nature of man is by showing the necessary end of our bodies.²⁰⁷ Remembrance of mortality was never an aim in itself, but was to lead to more earnest "dying to the desire of the flesh" or to a clearer perception of our helplessness, as by Olavus Petri.

The certainness of our death and the uncertainness of its time was a favored way of amplifying the theme of mortality. Petri's first prayer in the burial service in his manual asks that

this our service may be acceptable unto thee, that each of us in his place may so perform this burial that we keep it at all times in remembrance, for that we too, when thy holy will declareth that thou wilt call us from this poor and wretched world, shall return to earth again; and may we mark well in our hearts that in this miserable life we have no abiding city.²⁰⁸

This last phrase from the Epistle to the Hebrews (13.14) was also used by Veit Dietrich and from him taken over into Andreae's Order for Rothenburg. The deaths of others are examples reminding us of this and that we "must expect death every hour." The parable of the wise and foolish virgins is used then to exemplify the appropriate readiness.²⁰⁹

In the Order for the Dutch in London is another biblical image: the day of the Lord coming "like a thief, therefore the minister admonishes each one to watch and pray."²¹⁰ Divine help for this enterprise is requested in the 1563 Order for Kurpfalz.²¹¹ This "warning of the Lord to watch at all times" was also taken seriously by the composers of Zurich 1529, and death was considered the best admonition to people likely to forget it.²¹² Brenz also wanted the ministers to warn their flocks "to be ready to follow the call of God when and how he desires."²¹³

A further aspect involved in the theme of mortality is the preparation for dying and the prayer for "ein seligs end" (a blessed end).²¹⁴ The prayer in Württemberg 1553/59 asks for a "Christian dying."²¹⁵ Both Württemberg 1536 and Kurpfalz 1563 urge preparation for death. The proclamation of God's word at the funeral should, according to the former, remind the people of death, discourage them from a life of wickedness, and lead them to a Christian preparation for death and to hope in the resurrection.²¹⁶

To think about one's own mortality was not meant to be a psychological exercise with only interior consequences. It was to lead to an improvement in behavior and to a strengthening of faith when coupled with recognition of dogmatic truths concerning the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting. "Above all the congregation is admonished to a betterment of life" in the funeral sermons of the Dutch congregation in London.²¹⁷ A part of being ready for the summons of death is "to refrain from sins, to better our life and to become more pious" so we will be found by God to be "in the fear of him, in a right faith and true love toward our neighbors."²¹⁸

20. Resurrection

Especially a public ceremony such as burial could be observed - critically, indifferently, or hopefully - as a sign of the new churches' attitudes. The reformers realized that their ceremonies acted as a confession, just as their written documents did. As they attempted to transform the attitudes and actions concerning the dead, they also had to guard against misinterpretations, wilful or unintentional. They did not wish concern for the future life to disappear along with what they believed were superstitious attempts to influence the situation beyond death.

Thus Johann Sutel insisted that with a proper public burial "we openly confess with words and deeds the belief in the future resurrection."²¹⁹ Thus the Christians of Zurich, although interred without participation by anyone in the role of a minister, were to be decently laid to earth, "as fellows (mitgenossen) of the resurrection of Christ."²²⁰ Ulm's Order directed that they were to be inhumed "as ones we confess to be partakers of the resurrection,"²²¹ and Schwäbisch Hall's (1543) "as heirs of the kingdom of heaven."²²² But of course such inheritance or participation was christologically, not anthropologically-based.

Thus Christ, through his resurrection, has made the burial of all those who believe in him so honorable and so splendid (so ehrlich und so herlich) that it should not be a corruptible ditch, but a divine sleeping chamber in which one rests up to the eternal life, and a fruitful graveyard (Gottis acker, lit.: field of God) in which one grows up (auffwachset, also: awakes) before God and blossoms to eternal blessedness.²²³

The funeral was viewed in Württemberg 1553/59, Kurpfalz 1556, and Rothenburg 1559 as a demonstration of the hope which the mourners hold "for the eternal salvation and blessedness of the departed one" and as a confession of faith in the resurrection from the dead.²²⁴ In Pfalz-Neuburg 1543 this confession is coupled with consolation. A Christian burial was "to honor and to confess the resurrection from the dead, which is the Christian's highest, final and sure comfort."²²⁵

21. Love

The Orders which defended the importance of an honorable burial with a reference to belief in the resurrection generally go on to add that it also is an opportunity for Christians to "attest their love toward the deceased and their families,"²²⁶ as it is succinctly expressed in Kurpfalz 1563. In the Württemberg Orders the thought is articulated in a way which unambiguously avoids any hint that the dead profit from this love. The reference is entirely to this world. The funeral was held in part "so that the living demonstrate (beweisen) openly with such propriety and the accompaniment to the burial the loving friendship which they bore toward the dead person, and render a work of love," as Schnepf wrote.²²⁷ For Johann Sutel the decent interment showed (beweist) "that the love for the neighbor should not cease, neither in life nor in death nor in (the) future world etc."²²⁸

Beside this Brenz' description of the love which moves Christians to accompany the body sounds mundane: "But it is a civil deed (burgerlich werck) demonstrating the love toward the dead."²²⁹ Billican in his nearly contemporary Renovatio wove the motif of charity into his strongly eschatological interpretation of Christian burial. He began by complaining of the lack of love evidenced by irreverent disposal of corpses. Later he exegeted Thessalonians and Hebrews to conclude that Paul merely condemned mourning as though there were no future life, but that remembering the departed was an act of love. The image of reform and improvement is not missing, for he called for imitation of the faith and love of the dead as preparation for community with them.²³⁰

22. Life's Wretchedness

When our Orders use words such as "Jammertal" (vale of woe), wretched or miserable in describing this life it is almost always in their prayers. Section thirteen above offers examples. Otherwise they appear in sermons at the burial, with the single exception of the 1529 Basel Order. Here it serves as a striking description of death to introduce the short direction concerning burial: "...when anyone is called out of the time of this vale of woe to the joy of blessedness..."²³¹ In all cases, including this last, the words serve a rhetorical purpose. The misery of this life contrasts with the "joy" of the eternal life to be reached after and, as Olavus Petri emphasized, only through death.²³² Where the motif of the Jammertal appears in prayers and sermons, other than Petri's, there is a formality in the tone which suggests that the rhetorical effect was perhaps sought more than an apt expression of the writer's feeling about the present life. On the other hand, the requirements of a brief section in a Church Order force a certain formality upon the author, and Petri's Handbook has a very long section compared to most of the Orders.

However, there is a theological effect produced by this motif as well, in the phrases themselves, through their juxtaposition with the eternal life, and in the connection drawn between misery and sin. The Strasbourg prayer asks for faith in the resurrection to be strengthened in order to gain comfort for the bereavement and for "all hardship which we justly suffer in this vale of woe because of our sins."²³³ Petri elaborated upon essentially the same thought in his model sermon. His exposition of death, sin, and resurrection produces, as Yelverton in his commentary admits, an atmosphere of gloom.²³⁴

Perhaps this Strasbourg prayer was more realistic than Luther's cheerful statements about Protestant funerals quoted at the beginning of this chapter. The Church Orders, at any rate, reflect a graver, heavier attitude. Even when comforting the grieving, or perhaps precisely because they were written for that situation, there are few signs of rejoicing. This picture is not altered by Billican's statement that there should be joyfulness at funerals.²³⁵ His enthusiastic, "schwärmerische"²³⁶ tendency distinguishes him from the other composers of our south German and Swiss Orders.

The intention of serving the living and not the dead with the ceremonies tied the burial firmly to the situation in this world and to the reformers' interpretations of it. They believed the mourners needed consolation, instruction, guidance on facing not only others' but also their own deaths. They did not expect the truths of the faith to erase all grief, but they did expect faith to affect the way one mourned and the way one went on living.

Should it appear inconsistent that the Protestants on the one hand denied that a burial accompanied by Christian ceremonies influenced in any way the state of the deceased, and on the other were so concerned that the burial of Christians be honorable and decent, the solution is to be found in their interpretation of the ritual. The social significance of the funeral was recognized by the reformers; they wanted to channel that signal character in accord with their beliefs. Burial was properly a public occasion. A secret one or one without the presence of friends or neighbors was a shameful event, as was burial apart from others. A decent burial meant for the reformers an opportunity to remind others of the meaning and the inevitability of death. It was an expression of the concern of members of the Body of Christ for one another, and of citizens for one another. It was also a confession, for like all rituals, however simple, it transformed beliefs into visible acts.

These Orders are mixtures of description, prescription, and vision. The multiplicity of details and of possible significance, and the fact that each was composed in and for a different context make their interpretation a complex matter. In using some of the elements it is important to distinguish the Orders, those which contain or lack certain provisions, or which interpret them in special ways. This is especially true, for example, with regard to the church's 'presence' at burials or the practice of communion of the sick. There are other elements where the commonness of a motif is of primary significance, such as in the presence of instructive as well as consoling words, or in the reasons given for the importance of a decent burial. With such points it would be pedantic to try to distinguish finely and subtly between Orders, for the general impression is much more important.

There are certain other issues concerning death which occupied pastors on particular occasions for which Orders also provided some guidance, though alone they are by no means sufficient sources. Since these special cases also belonged to the pastoral challenges which sixteenth-century ministers faced, they should not be omitted here.

By nature Trees do rot when they are grown.
 And Plumbs and Apples thoroughly ripe do fall,
 And Corn and grass are in their season mown,
 And time brings down what is both strong and tall.
 And plants new set to be eradicate,
 And buds new blown, to have so short a date,
 Is by his hand alone, that guides nature and fate.¹

Chapter 7: SPECIAL DESIGNS OF DEATH*

That we term the situations discussed in this chapter 'special' is not meant to suggest that they were rare, nor that they called forth an uncharacteristic response from the Protestant pastors. They were cases met frequently enough in the sixteenth century and they demanded specific application or elaboration of the basic themes of reformed pastoral care. Only in the sense of not being dealt with in the usual guidance given in the Church Orders are they special; they would scarcely appear if only the sections on the sick and the dead from the Orders were discussed. Yet they have their place in many Orders, and in what we call the tapestry of the pastoral ministry. Though each specific figure could be examined in greater detail than we may do here, some consideration of these smaller designs within the whole is valuable.

A person is not equally affected by all cases of death of which he or she has knowledge, nor does contemplation of the various ways and times one may die oneself produce a single response. The mode of death, the age and significance of the person who died are among the factors influencing attitudes toward a death. They also affect the task of the pastor who must or will care for those touched by coming death or a past death. Here we shall consider the patterns of that ministry in the cases of the deaths of children, sudden deaths, executions of prisoners, and suicides, and in epidemics, especially plague.

*The notes for this chapter begin on page 338.

1. Children

For the most part we have been discussing pastoral care related to the sickness and death of adults. Children deserve separate consideration not because their deaths were infrequent, but because in the sixteenth as in the twentieth century the death of a child called forth a rather different reaction than did that of an adult. Even in external matters such as the burial, the little evidence there is shows that often different forms were used for young and old. Roman Catholic opinion and practice with regard to children who had died before being baptized bequeathed the Protestant reformers particular problems. These were concretized in the question of where such children were to be buried. Should they be interred outside the cemetery or in a special part of it, both of which meant for Roman Catholics unconsecrated ground?² Or should they be granted a place among the baptized heirs of the kingdom?

Along with purgatory, the limbus infantium as a middle state between hell and heaven was rejected by the Protestants. Theologically they were optimistic about the salvation of unbaptized infants. As God gave the child body and soul, Luther once said in a sermon, so he would save those of a stillborn child. Nor was God bound by baptism. In a lecture on Genesis Luther later declared that if a child was not baptized before it died for some reason, it would not be damned because of that.³ Making clear that he meant children from Christian parents, Zwingli declared that it was more likely, though not certain, that such children would be saved than that they would be damned if they died unbaptized. The judgements of God were not known to us. On this basis he criticized sharply those who caused distress for parents who have lost a child, not burying the child in consecrated ground and "punishing them with public disgrace and penance."⁴ Calvin also refused to say that baptism was absolutely necessary for salvation. Mentioning children specifically, he wrote that the necessity of baptism should not be so interpreted that one had to think that a person who could not be baptized before death was lost.⁵

At this theological level the basic issue may have been clarified, but Keith Thomas reports that "the fate of infants who died before baptism was still controversial" in England, for example, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁶ The critical impulse of the Protestants

was hindered not only by the survival of the earlier beliefs and their correlative superstitions, but by the reformers' own fear of discouraging the baptism of infants. They saw the basic act of infant baptism as being at stake. It was the rare pastor, Lutheran or Reformed, who could talk about baptism without relating it to rebaptism and the Anabaptists. In defending the orthodox position it was natural for them to admonish parishioners to bring their babies to be baptized and to try to impress upon them the importance of the sacrament, especially for infants.

Pessimism about the fate of children who died unbaptized led in Roman Catholicism to administration of the sacrament even to a child still in the womb or partly emerged,⁷ as well as to the newly born who seemed likely to die before baptism in a church could be performed. The anxiety about the unbaptized child was strong enough to overcome the masculine hierarchical structure, so that even a woman might administer a valid baptism in an emergency.

When Protestant reformers allowed such emergency baptism (Nottaufe or Jähetaufe) it is easy to see why the belief in the exclusion of unbaptized children from heaven was not quickly eradicated among their flocks. The Lutherans continued to permit emergency baptism by the laity,⁸ though they sought to regularize it. Since it was often administered by the midwife, the reformers sometimes asked that midwives be instructed how to do it properly if they were not certain.⁹ The author of the Church Order for Reutlingen did not care if the "honorable Christian" who baptized when the pastor could not be called was a man or a woman. It was important that

this precious sacrament, through which all Christians are incorporated in their Saviour Jesus Christ, be administered with dignity and Christian seriousness, without making ourselves guilty of frivolously handling the gift and the command of Christ.¹⁰

Calvin, seeing other issues as he approached the problem, declared that precisely such an administration of baptism in an emergency by a layperson would be a dishonoring of God's promise, for it showed a lack of trust in his power to save. The Genevan reformer saw the right to administer both sacraments as granted only to those having that office in the church. He argued on the basis of Christ's command to baptize (Matthew 28.19) which, he stressed, was only given to the apostles.¹¹

The Order of 1563 for Kurpfalz also uses this argument when directing that only those called to the office of the word and sacraments should baptize. The Second Helvetic Confession points to Calvin's other biblical authority and focusses even more thoroughly than Calvin on rejecting baptism by women:

We teach that baptism should not be ministered in the Church by women or midwives. For Paul secludes (*sic*) women from ecclesiastical callings; but baptism belongs to ecclesiastical offices.¹²

This Reformed attitude to emergency baptism was consistently applied in Strasbourg, where emergency baptism was abolished.¹³ The Kassel Order of 1539, on the other hand, did not allow baptism by a layperson, but the minister could be called to the house in cases where

the children be (so) weak that one must be concerned that they could not wait until the set hour to baptize, so that they then do not die without holy baptism.¹⁴

Not surprisingly, the Genevan Ordonnances required that baptism be administered by a minister at the usual church service, a practice also prescribed by Pullain's Order for the Walloon congregation.¹⁵ In Zurich as well, the church and not the house was the place for baptism, but emergency baptisms by the minister in the church were evidently carried out. When in 1592 baptism by midwives or any person other than a proper minister of the church was declared to be invalid, the people demanded that the clergy be ready at any time to baptize a sick or weak child.¹⁶

Lest the issue of emergency baptism appear to be compounded purely of rational theological aspects, and the significant role that comfort played in the theology of most of the reformers be forgotten, here is Katharine Zell's 1557 reaction to one of the new Lutheran ministers of Strassburg:

Ach, God, how Doctor Luther, my beloved husband, Capito, Bucer, and other old or first preachers of the gospel rejected and eradicated with great effort and work the great unbelief and error which was in the papacy which was concerned with the anxious baptism of children in case they died unbaptized, not burying them with other Christians, but at the side in a special place, that they should be robbed of the face of God (which after all is salvation). The heart of how many a poor mother was grieved, and driven to unbelief, and even to forget the precious blood of Christ and to give, against all teaching of Christ and his apostles, its power to the water,

which, however, God created not for the consecration of souls but for the proper use and knowledge of his work. Such things will now nearly all come forth again and be taught, as also Mister Melchior Specker, pastor of St. Thomas, said in his sermon as he baptized a grown girl: "If she had died in the meantime, what would have become of her?" As though she would have been damned and become the devil's. What remains there of the high merit of the Lord Christ...? ¹⁷

Specker's probable desire was to emphasize the need to baptize children early, and he may have thought this was particularly to be stressed in Strasbourg, where more radical Protestant views had often found refuge. Yet Katharine Zell saw other dangers. When the dominant aim in Protestant discussions and sermons on baptism was to make the importance of infant baptism unassailable, this could lead to further entrenchment of the Catholic and hitherto popular beliefs. Furthermore, Specker was not the only preacher who might have been accused of being ambiguous and not clearly condemning those beliefs. Had Katharine Zell, who had herself lost her two children, been at Luther's table when he reportedly gave the following reasons for stressing baptism soon after birth, she would well have protested again:

Women and their maids are thoughtless and strangle infants unintentionally. Often mothers and midwives abandon infants who are born unexpectedly and might become horrible monstrosities. It does no harm, therefore, to keep these women in fear, lest they thoughtlessly let the children die. There are enough accidents without these. Consequently we say and we warn that children be brought promptly for baptism. ¹⁸

However, Luther was by no means insensitive to the grieving mother. In his "Ein Trost den Weibern, welchen es ungerade gegangen ist mit Kindergebären" he responded to the fear of mothers who have lost a child before or at birth, whose grief for the dead child was compounded by the anxiety about the child's salvation. There he comforted women who think that they are to blame for the death because they somehow prayed improperly with the thought that God hears as prayers even sighs and inarticulate prayers. Furthermore, God will do more and better than Christians can know to ask for in their prayers. He is not bound to the sacraments, Luther maintained. Beginning to sound as though he were stringing one alternative comfort after another, he declared that we may believe that

that the child will not be damned because the parents intended to have it baptized. Furthermore, through the faith and prayers of others the child without faith can be helped.¹⁹

Actions speak as well as words, however, and the place and mode of burial expressed attitudes about dead children as well as about adults who had died. The early Church Orders tend to offer less detail than do later ones. However, Urbanus Rhegius stated specifically in his Order for Hannover of 1536 that unbaptized children were to be buried in the common churchyard

because one also after all allows many an old person
(to be buried in) the churchyard who had not nearly
lived in conformity with holy baptism up to his end.²⁰

The Lutheran churches seem to have officially supported burial of unbaptized children in the cemetery with the baptized, but in some places the custom of burial outside the churchyard or in a separate part of it may have continued.²¹ Gradually, it appears, concern for comforting the parents grew stronger than a desire to make distinctions, but the evidence from the time before 1570 is sparse. One would expect the Reformed churches to have also had no qualms about letting unbaptized children share the cemetery.

How much ceremony should accompany the interment of an infant was less uniformly agreed upon. It seems to have been less the distinction between baptized and unbaptized children that was a basis for the decision, so long as their parents were Christians, than age. Hessen 1566 is relatively early among the Orders in giving these clear directions:

Where young children passed away without baptism, we commend them to the Lord, and let their parents and relatives bury them without participation of a minister at the place where other Christian believers rest. We consider it unnecessary that the minister should undertake something for them not because we have doubts about their salvation, when they were brought before and commended to God by Christian parents with earnest, believing prayer, but because they were not incorporated through the external office of the church.²²

Other German Orders also directed that the minister's participation, or at least a sermon, should be reserved for those who were older or had communed. Knauer, for example, believed that it was "clear" that those

who had not communed would not be buried with a funeral sermon, no matter whose children they were. He also admitted that he had refused to allow songs at children's funerals,

thinking that such a thing might appear an imitation of the papist requiem and the Church Order only thinks of young men and women (junger gesellen und junger töchter). However, since these parents (who want to have a song or two sung at the cemetery for their deceased children) do not cease to desire (this), the pastor may deal with it this way, and draw a distinction, that only for those children who reached the seventh or eighth year and had only begun to learn their catechism and repeated that in the church and therefore confessed their faith be it allowed that the precentor in the graveyard sing with the others standing around: "Nun lasst uns den leib begraben etc." Thereupon the deacon remains standing among the people and reads from the Church Order the word of Paul, I Thessalonians 4, and closes it by leading to the Lord's Prayer, and prays and closes with the usual blessing. If he will, he may read completely up to the Lord's Prayer (in the Church Order).²³

From Württemberg earlier than the 1580s there is no information given by Kolb, and the 1536 and 1553/59 Orders do not mention the burial of children. Later various practices were found, but basically such burials were held with less ceremony than those of adults.²⁴ When the Order for the parish church of Nördlingen from 1555 calls for funerals "with the young and the old" to be held according to the Order of Löner, with a sermon or short exhortation for rich and poor,²⁵ there is no way to tell whether the young were catechumens, communicants, or even younger children.

Thus it is impossible to make generalizations about practices in detail without more specific research into customs at the local level. One can speculate that absence of directions in Orders from the church authorities would tend to allow Catholic customs, with separate places of burial for unbaptized infants, to continue. Yet the pastoral interest in comfort inherent in the Protestant theology may have worked a change here without specific decrees. The Catholic tradition possessed a special rite for baptized children who died before the age of seven or confirmation.²⁶ We have seen that the Protestant pastor in Dinkelsbühl tried to find a form which did not resemble the Catholic one too closely. Yet we cannot begin to guess how a pastor in a parish where he was not living side-by-side with Catholics may have reacted. At any rate, the principle

that burial served the living and not the dead was a basis for a reaction to the death of a child which considered first the needs of the bereaved rather than theological opinion, if a minister cared to build upon that basis.

With what words did Protestant pastors try to console grieving parents? A model for comforting those likely to lose a child is given in the Augsburg Forma of 1555. A pastor called to hold an emergency baptism could follow the ceremony with an exhortation if there were opportunity. In this model the distressed parents and others present are admonished to arrange their wills in accord with God's, whether that be death or life for the child, and not to be impatient or overly sorrowful. A child never belongs to its parents, they are to be reminded, but to God, as it is in the image of God and is shown through the baptism to be a child and heir of God. The child lives, or it dies, in God. Christ's death and resurrection and the child's baptism into that death and resurrection are grounds for comfort; these are then supported by Bible passages. Death will be a gain for the child, so rather than grieving overmuch the parents should "thank God for his grace, that he wished to increase his kingdom through you." The joy of the heavenly life and the reunion with the child and participation in it are presented with hymnlike splendor. The exhortation then closes:

Therefore we should even more pray that God may grant you, too, a blessed death (seligs stündlin) in right faith and true patience, and keep you through his Holy Spirit as this little child against all temptation. All of which may he grant and give us all, through Jesus Christ our Lord! Amen. 27

A form from an Order cannot avoid a rather impersonal style. It is possible, however, to consider more personal responses to children's deaths. The reformers, too, had to cope with the loss of their own children, and to comfort close friends who had lost sons and daughters. In the reports in the Table Talk of Luther's reactions to one of his daughter's deaths and in the letters of Ambrosius Blaurer, Bullinger, and of a Zurich layman about their children's deaths the anguish of the parents is naturally more easily felt than it is through the Augsburg model for pastors. However, the content of the consolation proffered and sought is essentially the same.

Magdalena Luther died in the autumn of 1542 at the age of fourteen. Martin and Katharine Luther had lost a daughter in 1528²⁸ but Magdalena seems to have held a special place in her father's heart. Table Talk entries from this time hold her epitaph, incidents during her sickness, her death and burial, and some of her father's reactions and thoughts on death. Perhaps the feelings are most effectively revealed simply by quoting part of what is recorded. As Magdalena lay dying, her father

fell on his knees before the bed and, weeping bitterly, prayed that God might will to save her. Thus she gave up the ghost in the arms of her father. Her mother was in the same room, but farther from the bed on account of her grief....

Often he (Martin Luther) repeated the words....: "I'd like to keep my dear daughter because I love her very much, if only our Lord God would let me. However, his will be done! Truly nothing better can happen to her, nothing better."

While she was still living he often said to her, "Dear daughter, you have another Father in heaven. You are going to him."

Philip Melanchthon said, "The feelings of parents are a likeness of divinity impressed upon the human character. If the love of God for the human race is as great as the love of parents for their children, then it is truly great and ardent."

When his dead daughter was placed in a coffin, he (Luther) said, "You dear little Lena! How well it has turned out for you!"

He looked at her and said, "Ah, dear child, to think that you must be raised up and will shine like the stars, yes, like the sun!"

The coffin would not hold her, and he said, "The little bed is too small for her."

(Before this,) when she died, he said, "I am joyful in spirit but I am sad according to the flesh. The flesh doesn't take kindly to this. The separation (caused by death) troubles me above measure. It's strange to know that she is surely at peace and that she is well off there, very well off, and yet to grieve so much!"

When people came to escort the funeral and friends spoke to him according to custom and expressed to him their sympathy, he said, "You should be pleased! I've sent a saint to heaven - yes, a living saint. Would that our death might be like this! Such a death I'd take this very hour."

The people said, "Yes, this is quite true. Yet everybody would like to hold on to what is his."

Martin Luther replied, "Flesh is flesh, and blood is blood. I'm happy that she's safely out of it. There is no sorrow except that of the flesh."

...When he returned home from the funeral he said, "My daughter is now fitted out in body and soul. We Christians now have nothing to complain about. We know that it should and must be so, for we are altogether certain about eternal life."²⁹

Those who extended their sympathy to Luther after Magdalena's death seem not to have thought grief over a daughter's death odd, unchristian, or out of place. Rather it was expected as the natural reaction. On the other hand, Heide Stratenwerth points out in a Festschrift for E.W. Zeeden that in the sixteenth century a "certain emotional distance, yes indifference toward children, especially toward the death of children" has been observed. As a result of demographic research, she goes on, the high mortality rate of children is given as a reason for this; "out of a certain emotional economy parents allow themselves no strong feelings." She finds this a one-sided explanation, basing her remarks on her work with autobiographical evidence from the period.³⁰ In such sources, as we see in this from Luther and in our examples to follow, it is obvious that there were strong warm feelings toward children, and real grief when they died. Stratenwerth believes an approach both broader and more differentiated is needed to adequately judge the evidence. Both the general consciousness in that time of the transience of life and the threat of losing not only children but persons of any age through sickness or accident, and the variety of situations which meant differences in attitudes toward children should be taken into account. She also stresses that the function of faith cannot be ignored. Mentioning Luther's reactions to Magdalena's death she writes:

From the religious attitude it follows then consequently that grief at the death of a close relative or friend is rather an inappropriate feeling. After all, it indicates mistrust toward God. Therefore it would also be false to take a lack of grief, wherever it is able to be confirmed, forthwith as an indication of lack of emotion. Much more, the example of Luther shows that, mediated by the religious attitude, both can be present, linked with one another: the suppression of the grief and a strong feeling for the deceased.³¹

Here it is certainly appropriate to remember I Thessalonians 4.13, which was used so often in the Church Orders as a guide to Christian mourning, but which was not used to suggest that all grief was unchristian:

"That you may not grieve as others do who have no hope."

It is important to remember that our sources are almost entirely provided by articulate, consciously Christian members of sixteenth-century society. The reactions of Luther, or of Ambrosius Blaurer, Heinrich Bullinger, and Hans Rudolf Lavater which we shall consider next, are honest and at the same time, in a certain sense, exemplary. They may have thought themselves weak Christians, but their grief tempered by hope was precisely what the reformers, as we have seen, called properly Christian. Such behavior was the aim of their ministry to the bereaved, yet from their own experience they knew it was not easily achieved, even with God's help. They knew the power of human emotions and did not totally censure them. They sought, rather, to channel them.

The attempt of one minister who thought he, too, might soon die can be followed in these extracts from a series of letters from Ambrosius Blaurer, then in Winterthur, to his brother Thomas and to Heinrich Bullinger, which need little commentary:

22 January 1551 - to Bullinger: "Our only-beloved little daughter (Katharina) is sick. Should the Lord take her from this world, I must thank him the more, the more I love her."

29 January - to Bullinger: "On the twenty-fourth of January we buried our only daughter. We reconcile ourselves to God's will; may we also die the same death! I thank you for your pious comfort and wish you long health."

4 February - to Thomas Blaurer: "My wife just reported that (our son) Thomas is seized by fever. O Lord, help her, that the pain does not destroy (his) mother. I know that these sweet pledges (Pfänder) are demanded from us with good reason, and wish them and us good fortune, that they come under heavenly protection. Pray for us: I fear for my wife."

7 February - to Thomas: "Little son Thomas has followed (his) little sister into eternity. Thank the Lord! even if the flesh murmurs against it." He asks for his brother's prayer, that God take from them the fear of death.

9 February - to Bullinger: "Through these proved people I send your communications back, with thanks. May the people on whose insight so much depends for the whole church share your judgement about the Tridentine Council! But there is no hope and there remains only the prayer that God shorten bad days and take us away with all his sons. A sign for me of early dissolution is that the Lord in these days called my little son, as (his) little sister, into immortality, evidently so that I must not leave them behind in the anxieties of this world. Pray for me, that I fear no evil in the valley of the shadow of death, my eyes directed toward the heavenly light...If the Lord takes me, do me still the service in death to support my wife."

14 February - to Thomas: "I thank you for the epitaph; unfortunately there are no able masons here....Pray that the Lord preserves my wife (who was also ill) or gives me power to accept as his ordinances whatever happens."

19 February - to Bullinger: "With many wagons full of letters I could not repay your loving letter....Since the death of (our) son our house appears to be free of the pestilence in which we recognize and honor the hand of the Lord." 32

Blaurer, by an effort of will, or of belief, evidently managed to see the will of God in the tragedy and to accept the deaths as providential. His dejection about events in the world played a role, as can be seen in the letter from the ninth. This also appears in an exchange between Bullinger from 1542 on the death of the former's eighteen-month-old son. Also succinctly expressed is that children were better off dead and in heaven than toiling through this life.

30 June 1542 - Bullinger to Ambrosius Blaurer: "God has taken from me in these days my little son Diethelm. Yet salvation (Heil) has fallen to him, for he has overcome much misery at once."

15 July - Blaurer to Bullinger: "The death of your little son is in these times more to be called happiness than to be mourned."³³

While deeply affected, Bullinger seems more restrained than Blaurer in the face of the death of his daughter Margareta, five weeks after that of his wife, both through plague. In November 1564 the mother of seven young children gave birth to a son, who was baptized and died the next day. The following day Margareta died as well. Reporting this to Fabricius, Bullinger wrote:

I know that this all happened according to God's counsel, and that I neither should nor can reproach that. I commit to him therefore myself and all that I have and all my own, and implore his mercy.³⁴

Margareta's father-in-law was Hans Rudolf Lavater, for a time mayor of Zurich. Earlier, while linked with the Bullingers through friendship rather than family ties, Lavater lost his oldest son. Lavater's biographer, Heinzpeter Stucki, reckons that the young Heinrich Lavater, who had lived in Bullinger's house as a schoolboy and was studying in Strasbourg when he drowned while swimming, would have been about eighteen.³⁵ He prints summarizing transcriptions of two letters in which the father writes of his grief to Bullinger, who had received the news and sent it on to Lavater outside Zurich. Here a layperson fights to accept the tragedy. An hour after receiving the message Lavater wrote:

Your kind letter with its consoling exhortation to patience I received with great dread and sorrow of heart. Although I know that the true faith should bring patience and no impatience, nonetheless Anfechtungen press out again and again. If he had just died in some other way, I would have borne his death more easily. But God's hand weighs heavily on me so, for I have in all my life carried the wretched yoke of this life. Yet be all that as it may, I hope nevertheless that my kind Lord and God will not throw me out with the bathwater (sic). Certainly no greater sorrow could happen to me, for he was my best-loved child. Perhaps I put too much confidence in him, so that God in his providence diverted my pride in him through this means. Now I ask you to pray to God, that nothing still worse happens to me and that I bear my wretchedness patiently. Who knows the judgement of God? Perhaps all this happens for my own good and for humility so that I do not leap too high.

Further I ask for your advice, whether I should immediately send a messenger to Strasbourg or whether you are willing to take upon yourselves all the tasks which this death brings with it. I shall send a messenger to you. Actually I wanted to ride myself to Zurich recently, but was prevented because of sickness, and now I cannot leave home because here there will be great grief, even when I impart the news as gently as possible.

I thank you for your kind sympathy and pity; accept my letter with understanding, for it comes from a troubled person.³⁶

It was not only the fact of his son's death, but the manner of that death which hit the father so hard; he tried to spare his wife extra grief by not telling her Heinrich had drowned. On 14 July he wrote again to Bullinger:

I await your answer on how I should arrange the (matters arising from) the death. In the morning at half past four I told my wife of Heinrich's death: (I said) she should not think I was sick because I had been restless the whole night; I would be again alright. Even more, God the Lord has visited us again with a misfortune, but she should not fear, but trust God alone, who would strengthen us, for God has taken to himself Heinrich. Thereupon she looked at me and said: That is no misfortune, but God's ordinance, for he has given and again taken him. If only he had been with us at home, then we could have helped him! If only he did not fall to his death or was not killed by someone!

Now our preacher came, took her by the hand and comforted her. Indeed she often asked yesterday and last night whether we did not know how long he had lain in bed and what he had; if only he died in bed in God's name! She tried to console me, though I avoided her as often as I could.

May you accept this letter with understanding, for I write you only because I especially trust you. I can judge well that you have other things to do, but I hope it brings no annoyance or vexation. For good friends always lament need and adversity to one another. I would like to write you much more about this accident, but I wish to bother you no more now. My heart and spirit are burdened with sorrow and grief; I fear the anger of God. But you should know that I firmly trust that my gracious Lord and God will not abandon me, even when he afflicts me in this way. Who wishes to fathom his judgements and plans in this world? Perhaps everything happens for the best for me and not to (my) detriment. May God's will always be done and grant me grace to patience and correction of my life, Amen.³⁷

The theme of patience as the proper response of a Christian to misfortune because it must be an expression of God's will recurs frequently. But it sometimes required a great struggle to meet this standard; Lavater recognized this. Part of such acceptance of adversity as God's will was recognition that actually the circumstances could be for the best. God could not actually work evil, though his decisions and their results might seem to be so at first. The motif of using such events as admonitions to reform one's own life is also familiar from our studies of the Church Orders.

Lavater wrote Bullinger as to a friend, it appears, not a minister. The parish clergyman visited his house, but Lavater seems to have sought comfort more through his correspondence with this friend. He evidently did not feel that Bullinger listened merely out of a sense of duty, and apologizes if he should bother his busy friend. He felt he could write of his doubts as well as of his trust, and one senses how he struggled with the conflicting emotions.

The mother needed to know whether Heinrich was suddenly overcome by death. It was less the precise, perhaps horrible, manner which troubled her than the suddenness. She hoped that her son had had time to prepare himself for a Christian death.

2. Sudden Death

The concern of Heinrich Lavater's mother was not unusual. Gerwig, a son of Ambrosius Blaurer, wrote his father upon hearing of the deaths first of a houseservant of his parents and then of his little sister:

Pray God daily, as I do, to preserve you and Mother; it is easy that we die, if only you (both) live. Also pray for me, that the hour of death does not overtake (übereile) me unprepared.³⁸

Luther's enemies would have liked to think that he died an unexpected and sudden death; his followers would have found such a death disconcerting. Michael Coelius' address in Eisleben upon Luther's death serves to report that

although he has not yet been buried, and has been dead no more than one day, people can be found, driven by the evil spirit, who suggest that he was found dead in his bed.³⁹

Had this been true and allowed to be made public, it would have had two poisonous points capable of damaging the Protestant movement. On the one hand, as Horst Schmidt-Grave indicates, there was an interest in whether Luther had died "properly"; if he had not there would have been doubts about his salvation in many minds. This would then have reflected on the validity of the reforming position.⁴⁰ Further, if it were believed that Luther had not died as a good Christian, this could have been taken as a sure sign that God had denied him such a death as a punishment. This could have made Protestants uneasy even if they did not deny that Luther

could still be saved in spite of an unexpected death.

Coelius wished to convince his listeners not that Luther knew in that last illness that it would be indeed his final one, but that he had long been prepared for death. For, said Coelius,

Doctor Martin did not begin to die just last night, but for longer than a whole year he continually died, that is he was occupied with thoughts of death, preached on death, spoke about death, wrote about death.⁴¹

Even a sudden death could be made less disturbing if, as Schmidt-Grave points out,

one could show that the deceased had constantly prepared himself for death during his life and had often occupied himself with thoughts of death.⁴²

The descriptions of deaths and of lives in the funeral sermons and addresses from the last decades of our period and later which he examined aimed to show that the deceased had had many opportunities during their lives for occupation with thoughts of death. Sicknesses were particularly thankful objects for such efforts.⁴³ Earlier this mode of reassurance, this style of funeral sermon, had not been used, but the concerns and needs which led to its development were present in early Protestantism.

It was not in itself the suddenness of a demise which constituted an issue for Roman Catholics and their protesting contemporaries. What was for the former a death to be prayed against, to hear masses against,⁴⁴ was a death which was especially frightening because it left no time for the sacramental support of the church. For the Protestants it was a death to prepare against, one which need produce anxiety only if one were caught not only unawares but unprepared.⁴⁵

Since reformed theology declared that there was no opportunity of helping those already taken violently or suddenly, the most that could be done was to warn people to ready themselves to meet death,⁴⁶ however it came, and to try to comfort the mourners. This latter task was made more difficult by the common belief that the final hour of life was somehow decisive for the eternal state of the soul.

Protestant theologians could not strictly believe that what one was caught doing or thinking in one's final hour would be decisive for one's chances of salvation. This is nowhere more clearly demonstrated than in their reaction to sudden death. Here was a real dilemma, for

people did wonder about how their loved, or hated, fellows were doing on the other side of death. Simply to counsel them to leave it up to God was often neither a helpful nor a sensitive response. Without undermining the idea that doing good was preferable to sinning, how was the average Christian to be told that God might even save those who appeared, by worldly standards, certainly headed for damnation? How were the impulse to comfort, the doctrine of justification alone through faith, and moral concern to be woven together?

Facing this problem, Veit Dietrich suggested two thoughts for those who upon finding someone dead in bed or knowing of someone's sudden death wonder "whether he also thought of God in such exigency" and are troubled by the uncertainty.⁴⁷ His advice was also that for cases where someone died while not in their right senses. Though there had been no chance to "comfort him with the holy sacrament" or "instruct him with the word of God", one should consider how he led his life while still well. There was ground for hope if he loved the word of God, did not scorn the sacrament and confessed Christ, "for there was nevertheless the trust in the Lord Christ present, which itself is the true burning fire which destroys all sin and all filth and purifies us."⁴⁸ Secondly, the character of the Lord God is to be merciful and gracious and the office of Christ is to seek and save sinners.

Yes, the larger the need and the greater the danger, the more you should believe that God, in accord with his name, is with such people through his Holy Spirit and will not judge him according to how he found him then.... No, God does not wish to be so tyrannical. He will not judge us⁴⁹ as we are when we are at our weakest and most miserable.

Opposing the tendency to elevate the significance of the final hour and how one conducts oneself then, Dietrich declared that to suggest that Christ will not continue to seek, help, and save even at times when one is not rationally and leisurely meditating upon God was to slander the Lord. He reminded his readers to look at more than the manner of death, to take comfort in signs of the faith the person had during his life.⁵⁰

It was not easy to correct the belief that a sudden death was a punishment of God and therefore indicated that a person had actually led a godless life, even if secretly. When a young man in Regensburg died a violent death in January 1560, the minister had not wished him to have a church burial. The city council evidently decided differently, in a way expressed in this prayer, which is headed:

When a person is called out of this life quickly through an accident (having) otherwise lived Christianly and respectably.

Beloved in the Lord Christ! We have now committed to the earth a person who in his life behaved Christianly, gladly heard the word of God, used the holy sacraments, and with these as also with his life and behavior attested his faith in Christ and was considered as a member of the body of Christ and of our church. We all know how quickly and unforeseen the Almighty called him away. Thereby we should reflect ourselves, constantly to live in the fear of God and in accordance with the teaching and earnest admonition of Christ to constantly watch and pray, that when the beloved, faithful God seizes us (angreifen wird), we shall be found in his obedience as his beloved children. May he grant this person a joyous resurrection and grant us all a blessed end through our Lord Jesus Christ! Amen.⁵¹

When the deceased had died unexpectedly, suddenly, or violently, one function attributed by the Protestants to death and burial was possibly more effective than usual. Such an event might especially warn and admonish the living to remember the certainty of death and the uncertainty of the hour of its coming, and to improve their lives in preparation for it. Rudolf Mohr crystallized from his work with early seventeenth-century funeral sermons three positions with regard to sudden death, all of which harmonized with this function. The most rigorous interpretation among Protestant ministers viewed sudden death as a physical punishment which did not necessarily call into question the salvation of the person thus afflicted. To those who witnessed this punishment it served as a warning. The mildest interpretation Mohr characterizes as that in which the sudden death serves only as a warning for the survivors. For the deceased the quick release was a blessing. Between these two he found the cautious thought that not every drawn-out illness was necessarily an expression of God's grace, and not every sudden death a sign of his anger.⁵²

According to Protestant theology sudden death did not of necessity indicate damnation. Salvation depended not on any external sacramental supports, which were obviously denied the person who died suddenly and unexpectedly, but on faith.⁵³ While one could never say with certainty that a person taken suddenly had lacked that, one was also almost equally uncertain whether the person had died in faith, or with faith. Schmidt-Grave sees this uncertainty and the absence of belief in ways in which

the living could aid the dead as a central reason for the development of the printed funeral sermon in Protestantism.

When one could after all according to one's own conviction do nothing more for the dead, it was soothing to have in black and white with the funeral sermon that it was not at all necessary - according to the manner of living and dying of the deceased - to care for the departed, since on the basis of what was set forth (there) his salvation was certain.⁵⁴

With a case of sudden death, the weight was shifted to the person's previous life when reassurance of salvation was sought. Chances seemed better if a person had time to put his spiritual household in order. Schmidt-Grave points to a hymn from the mid-1580's which prays for protection against, among other things, "bösem, schnellem Tod" (a bad, sudden death).⁵⁵ The phrase is also found in Luther's reformed version of the Catholic litany, the German litany of 1529.⁵⁶ The uneasiness about sudden death was not erased by shifting the emphasis from the sacraments to faith.

3. Condemned Prisoners

Further evidence that having time to prepare for death was believed preferable to suffering a sudden and unexpected demise is found in the instructions given for pastoral visits to prisoners condemned to death. In the Carolina of 1532, the laws of Charles V on capital punishment ordered that a death sentence should be announced three days before execution so the prisoner had time to think about and repent his crime and to say his confession. If the condemned person wished to receive the eucharist, the law continued, it was not to be denied him.⁵⁷ Such spiritual care for the condemned was a relatively new phenomenon, appearing in the fifteenth century and first widespread in both Roman Catholic and Protestant areas in the sixteenth.⁵⁸

Veit Dietrich included detailed guidance on instructing and comforting such unfortunate persons in his Agendbüchlein. A number of Orders copied this section.⁵⁹ He suggested the pastor remind the prisoner that he should be thankful that he had been brought to a place where he could be prepared and comforted before death.

If God had wanted to deal with you ungraciously, he would have had you slaughtered in the act or let you lose your neck or be killed otherwise (ob frischer tat erwurgen, den hals abfallen oder sunst umbbringen lassen) and thus judged you as he had found you in your sins. However, now he shows you this grace, that he does not deal with you strictly but rather, although you certainly have not earned it, nonetheless shows you his grace. He accepts you as a child and wants to forgive you your sin. How many are those who do not have such a sin upon them as you do and who nevertheless die unexpectedly? But God does not want to overtake you suddenly (with death). He sends you his ministers, who are to comfort you and help your soul through his word. Learn to recognize such grace and be thankful to God that he deals with you, poor sinner, so graciously and as a father! ⁶⁰

Dietrich recommended that an anxious, frightened prisoner be consoled with all possible reminders of God's mercy - so long as he had repented and recognized his need of forgiveness. For the unrepentant, spiteful prisoner the necessary medicine was "the law" (in the theological sense), to remind him of the gravity of his sin against God and the civil authorities and of the eternal damnation which lay waiting on the other side of the gallows or block. ⁶¹ Once again here is the pattern basic to pastoral visits to the sick and dying: preaching the law ("Unterricht") and the gospel ("Trost"), with the specific combination and form depending on the particular situation and person.

The Church Orders which contain provisions on visiting prisoners have them almost invariably placed close to the instructions on visiting the sick and on burial. Rather unexpectedly one finds that Bullinger devoted four paragraphs to condemned prisoners in his Bericht der Krancken. Furthermore he felt anyone could actually gather from the guidance he had given on the sick what was needed to instruct and comfort those awaiting execution. ⁶² Where communion of prisoners was customary, as in the Lutheran churches, some Orders merely instruct that it be held according to the liturgy for the communion of the sick. ⁶³ Without underestimating the seriousness of the crime or the shamefulness of such a death in the eyes of the world, reformers reckoned that a condemned prisoner had as much chance of forgiveness and salvation as a person who died in bed.

The pastors went into the prisons to save souls and to reconcile the condemned to imminent death. There appears to have been almost no thought of questioning the judgements and sentences. A rare exception is a final rubric in the pertinent section of Olavus Petri's Handbock of 1529, a very early example of detailed guidance on how to conduct prison visits. In the translation of Yelverton this comment reads:

When it may chance (as often doth happen) that he who is to be executed is innocent of the suit brought against him, he may be consoled and comforted as is here prescribed. He may be certified that it is God who hath ordained that he should die; and though he be not guilty in the suit brought against him, yet God knoweth the suit, for he knoweth all secrets. He knoweth what suit he hath against him. Therefore we are to place ourselves in the hands of God, and suffer him to do with us according to his holy will. Even if it should be that we were without blame in the sight of men, we could never so live but that we sinned in the sight of God; and must be punished, when it pleaseth him. Therefore let us give our suit into the power of God, acknowledge ourselves guilty before him, and suffer him to govern us according to his holy will. And if it so chance that he is in no way guilty of the death that he will suffer, yet he may be glad to suffer an innocent death as Christ suffered, and not a guilty death as the thief. It is better to carry the cross as Christ carried it than as the thief. In such ways he may be comforted, that he may be glad that he hath not committed such things as he is charged with, and deliver his innocent death to the discretion of God, who ordereth all things for his good estate.⁶⁴

While innocent of the mode of death - execution - the prisoner is nonetheless deserving of death, as are all sinners, all people, according to Petri. The absence of protest against an unjust sentence is imbedded in Petri's theological position. One should perhaps be cheered that the reformers may have found arguments to console those facing a brutal and unjust death which was unavoidable. Yet it is unnerving to observe how belief in the will of God and the sinfulness of human nature could be combined to make injustice attractive.

Nonetheless, Olavus Petri admitted that the sentences were often pronounced upon the wrong persons. On Veit Dietrich's part there was evidently not the slightest doubt that the sentence would be just. He agreed with Petri in seeing it as an expression of the will of God

"because it is laid upon you from God's ordinance for the sake of your sin,"⁶⁵ as the prisoner was to be told. What he would have said had he been convinced that a sentence was unjust we can only surmise, but to die a deserved death "willingly and gladly" was to be obedient to God.⁶⁶ The theological weapons against despair were mustered for the prisoners as well as for the sick.

The Kurpfalz Order of 1563 states that "because the prisoners stand in need of comfort no less than do the sick,...they should be diligently visited and comforted by a minister several times every week." If a prisoner appeared "despondent" he was to be visited more than once.⁶⁷ The Generalartikel for Pfalz-Neuburg from 1576 stipulate that those holding prisoners likely to be sentenced to death should tell the ministers of them long enough in advance of execution that there was time for sufficient counselling. The prisoners were to be well-watched as they were brought from their cells to a customary place for instruction for the sake of the minister's safety; such prisoners were "commonly rough people" who have little or no knowledge of the "teaching of the catechism."⁶⁸

One day a week was fixed by the Ordonnances ecclésiastiques of Geneva for devotions to be held in the prison, at which a council member was to be present so that there was no "deception" (fraude). Someone who was in fetters and not brought out to these shared opportunities for admonition could be visited by a minister with permission of the council, again in the presence of a councillor.⁶⁹ The civil authorities, according to the Württemberg Order of 1536, were to decide where a pastor should visit a condemned prisoner who desired the visit and communion.⁷⁰

Where administration of the sacrament to the sick was not customary, as in Zurich and Geneva, we also find no indication that the condemned received it before execution. Lavater seemed merely to speak generally of ministerial visits to prisoners.⁷¹ Just as Calvin would have preferred communion of the sick, though he did not try to challenge Geneva's contrary practice, he did not support resistance to communion of prisoners in Montbéliard. He wrote the ministers facing introduction of this custom of Lutheran Württemberg

that one also need not resist too much the practice of giving the eucharist to the criminals before the execution if they desire it and appear to be sufficiently prepared for its reception. But only under the condition that it truly a communion, that is that the bread is broken in a community of believers.⁷²

In other areas, especially Lutheran ones, where the sacrament was felt to be a desirable part of preparation for dying, its administration probably was included in pastoral duties toward prisoners awaiting execution as it was in Württemberg. Veit Dietrich took for granted that communion had a place in the prison and dealt with the problem of the prisoner who seems unable to "forgive and forget" those responsible for his execution, but who nonetheless wishes to receive the sacrament. Such a person, according to the Nürnberg pastor, should not be given the elements. Rather he was to be urged to change his mind and heart. If after this he admitted that though he wished he could forgive them he was still unable to do so,

then one should admonish him to pray himself that he desire from God such a heart, and then upon the grace of God, which God wishes to refuse no one, give him the holy sacrament and hope that God will enlighten him.⁷³

While the pastor seeking to comfort a prisoner might not have categorized the situation as differing fundamentally from that of consoling someone dying at home, he could not have overlooked the actual differences. The condemned prisoner needed to cope not just with death, but with a death to be carried out by someone under conscious and deliberate order from others. The minister was to help the condemned, "that he learn to firmly beat out all Anfechtung which will come to him because of shame and death and to depend on the highest consolation," as Dietrich expressed it. The shame of "dying in front of everyone because of sins" the Nürnberg reformer hoped to counter with logical argument. He recommended pointing out to the prisoner that such a death is really a Christian confession of sin and of belief in the saving suffering of Christ. This decked one out more splendidly before God than the earthly shame could disgrace one. Further it was a work of obedience to God, because it was in accord with the "ordinance of God" that such a death came upon someone because of their sins. Finally, such a good work

produced its fruits: this death would be an example to others, to prevent them from committing the same crime. It was an honor to die so, Dietrich imagined the pastor telling the prisoner, therefore "praise and thank God for such grace, that he has called you to such faith and confession!"⁷⁴

Since it might prove hard to maintain a grip on such comfort when actually on the way to the place of execution, provision was made for clergy to accompany the condemned. On the grounds that this task was the responsibility of all the common clergy ("Leutpriesterei"), the Zurich council decided in May 1528 that a minister who until then usually provided the accompaniment for the prisoners and who was "declared to be especially capable for it" should have an annual wage of wine and grain from the clergy.⁷⁵

Bullinger later in his Bericht der Krancken assumed a minister went along. He directed him, as the prisoners were bound to go to the place of execution, to remind them (literally, vermahnen) "of the binding and leading out of Christ." All the points previously mentioned could be repeated and others added, so that they went out "confessing their sins, trusting in Jesus Christ, forgiving everyone, warning everyone with their wretched example against disgrace and vice, desiring everyone's prayers and themselves earnestly calling on God." The articles of faith and the Lord's Prayer were to be "explained." When the place was reached, the example of Christ was considered again appropriate. The condemned were to be asked whether there were other, still unknown crimes for which other people might be punished which they wished to confess "in secret or otherwise." Then they were to be exhorted "to commend their soul alone into God's hand, protection, grace and mercy, with faith and firm hope."⁷⁶

In Regensburg the style was more interrogatory and less exhortatory. Printed in Sehling are three sets of questions to be put to prisoners before execution. A 1553 set in both Latin and German is from Noppus; the other two German ones are by Gallus, from 1553 and from around 1567. While the lists differ in the formulation of the questions and of the absolution which was to follow a series of positive answers, their content is basically the same. There was first a query "de poenitentia", to ascertain whether the prisoner was sorry for his sin. Second, he was to be questioned "de fide": whether he believed his sins would be forgiven for

Christ's sake by the grace of God. The third question was to be "de obedientia", asking whether he could obediently suffer his penalty, forgive those who brought him to execution and others, and ask forgiveness for himself. Next in the forms of Noppus comes a short address to the onlookers, to be repeated after the pastor by the prisoner, asking their forgiveness and intercessions, and pointing out the exemplary value of his death. All the sets direct that if the questions were affirmatively answered the pastor should publicly give the absolution. Noppus then called for a recitation of the Creed. All again agreed in recommending that the onlookers then sing "Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist", though Gallus gave "Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin" as he wrote in the 1560's, with the former hymn as an alternative "where there was despondency."⁷⁷ Here momentarily one glimpses an awareness that the minister's comforting words may fall short of their goal.

The dimensions of ministerial success in bringing condemned criminals to repentance and in comforting them with the methods we have observed cannot be estimated. Forgiveness, expressed by absolution in the churches which retained it, was not stingily distributed, if the impression of the written guides we have considered are representative of the practice. The example of the thief on the cross was the standard. Martin Bucer surely spoke for other reformers as well when he answered an Anabaptist who found it a deficiency in the church that "when wrong doers have denied life, then they were promised the Kingdom of God and that they should not die as a murderer according to the Scriptures." The Strasbourg reformer replied:

When one says: I repent of my sins, then he is given absolution; but they can't see into his heart. And although everyone should watch that he doesn't escape suffering due to murder and robbery, etc., even if that is the situation with him, he should carry his pain like the thief on the cross and seek the grace of the Lord, which he will certainly find, as the thief found it.⁷⁸

Yet there was also a sternness in these pastors' approach to the prisoner. Generally speaking, the anguish and fear which must have been natural companions of the condemned are scarcely felt through the guides for the ministers who were to visit them.

4. Suicide

A death which is often sudden and violent, and which shocks, bewilders, worries and saddens to a particular degree is suicide. This was no less true in the sixteenth century than in our own, to judge alone from Luther's reactions to reports of suicides.⁷⁹ There has been, however, a major change in attitudes in this matter since the century of Luther.

Not only a sudden death but also a suicide was associated with Luther's passing by some of his opponents, and zealously denied by his friends.⁸⁰ Among Roman Catholics it was a shameful death; unless the person who took his or her own life could be shown to have done so when not responsible for the action, he or she was denied a Christian burial, indeed, was buried by the executioner at the place used for executions.⁸¹ Under Emperor Charles V the suicide's heirs were not able to inherit the property.⁸² These laws are to be seen not just as attempts to punish a sinner already dead, but as attempts to prevent suicide through means which could be expected to frighten or dissuade one contemplating taking his own life.

With his habitual respect for the law and an orderly public life, Luther supported civil legal measures against suicide as helpful in preventing suicide through fear. However, he also brought to bear upon the subject of suicide the theological insights he had won.⁸³ According to an entry in the Table Talk from 1532 he declared:

I don't share the opinion that suicides are certainly to be damned. My reason is that they do not wish to kill themselves but are overcome by the power of the devil. They are like a man who is murdered in the woods by a robber. However, this ought not to be taught to the common people, lest Satan be given an opportunity to cause slaughter, and I recommend that the popular custom be strictly adhered to according to which it (the suicide's corpse) is not carried over the threshold (when removed from a house), etc. Such persons do not die by free choice or by law, but our Lord God will dispatch them as he executes a person through a robber. Magistrates should treat them quite strictly, although it is not plain that their souls are damned. However, they are examples by which our Lord God wishes to show that the devil is powerful and also that we should be diligent in prayer. But for these examples, we would not fear God. Hence he must teach us in this way.⁸⁴

While not criticizing the laws of the civil authorities, Luther believed that the church and its pastors were to respond in another way to suicide, for their calling was a different one. As Gerhard Krause also points out in his study of Luther's attitude toward suicide, the pastor's task in preventing suicide was exercised somewhat differently in the pulpit and in personal conversation, in person or in letters.⁸⁵ As the government used examples of harsh punishment of suicides to frighten others, Luther recognized that instances of suicide had exemplary character. The element of fear is also not absent, as is clear from the quotation above. However, what was really to be taught according to Luther is that Satan wishes to rule. The dangers and the source of help were to be made clear, and this could be done in sermons. He felt a collection of contemporary cases of suicide would be useful in preaching.⁸⁶

In his individual counselling of people who entertained suicidal thoughts Luther's descriptions of such Anfechtungen as a work of the devil became even more lively. Satan was not a mere figure of speech; Luther's views on suicide grew from his theological position and his conceptions of the devil, his work and his ways.⁸⁷ To Jonas von Stockhausen, a man sick and tired of living, and longing for death, Luther wrote in 1532. He warned him not to listen to his own thoughts, but to other people: "Thus God will console and strengthen you through our word." God's will for him did not yet include death, Luther pointed out; Stockhausen should accept this and not listen to the urgings which originated with the devil. Luther saw two possible ways to fight Satan. On the one hand Stockhausen could defiantly and angrily tell himself that he wanted to and must live since that was God's will. "If you attack yourself so and fight against yourself, God will certainly help you," Luther told him. However, an even better way was to ignore the devil rather than to attack him straight on. "Always think of something else" and keep active. Disdain the thoughts and the devil behind them.⁸⁸

Luther's methods were not for people in deepest depression and apathy; they called for action on the part of the threatened person. A letter from the same day to Stockhausen's wife advised her first not to leave her husband alone, and to keep anything with which he might harm himself away from him. He continued:

Loneliness is pure poison for him. Therefore the devil drives him to just that. But when one tells or reads him many stories, news and curious things, it won't hurt if it's sometimes gossip and tales if he thereby could be roused to laugh and to joke. And then instantly follow it up with comforting passages from the Bible. Whatever you do, do not let it be lonely or still around him, so that he doesn't sink into the thoughts. It doesn't hurt if he gets angry about it. Act as though you're sorry.... But do it constantly so much the more.⁸⁹

Luther seems to have been able to avoid, through his understanding of the devil's role, decisions about the soundness of mind and responsibility of suicides. On the one hand he wrote to Stockhausen as though the man were able to make decisions and pull himself out of his depression to some extent at least. On the other, Satan is responsible for 'successful' suicides, and behind the devil is, in some way, God.

Such persons do not die by free choice or by law, but our Lord God will dispatch them as he executes a person through a robber.... They are examples by which our Lord God wishes to show that the devil is powerful....⁹⁰

Heinrich Bullinger also recognized the exemplary function of suicides. He differentiated clearly between cases where the person was rational and those where he or she were not, whether because of sickness or for other reasons. The examples of the former are admonitions to be patient and to accept the will of God; one can see what could happen if one did not. Such people would not

await how and what God did to them, but rather renounced (their faith) in despair and therefore made room for the devil, testifying with their deed that they have no faith nor hope in God.⁹¹

With that, consideration of this group was finished for Bullinger, and he turned to those who take their lives while not rational. In such cases those who allowed the suicide to take place were guilty, Bullinger wrote, not the person who acted. The latter could only be commended to the mercy of God. Neither their misdeed nor any unseemly remarks they may have made earlier about God while not in their right senses would be laid to their account. However, these, too, were examples, so that "each person sets his affairs in order with God while he still has reason and understanding. Then afterwards his poor, senseless, mad life and lamentation will not harm his salvation."⁹²

Luther once wrote concerning a pastor who had buried a suicide victim that he could have a good conscience, using the argument that she was killed by the devil.⁹³ Bullinger would have had to first decide whether she had been able to judge her action rationally. Admittedly, in Zurich the minister would not have conducted a funeral in any case, even if not a suicide. However, that was not the only possible sign of an honorable burial. The escort by friends and neighbors, or burial with other Christians was also a symbol which could be denied a suicide.

Rohner-Baumberger reports that though it is not known where suicides were put in Geneva, in the seventeenth century it was not in the cemetery, though the ground was not consecrated. There is no reason to suppose that the custom in the sixteenth century was different. "They were evidently not worthy to find their final rest in the same place as respectable people," she comments.⁹⁴ This no doubt refers to the 'rational' suicides; whether even less than the usual signs of respect accompanied the interment of those considered not responsible when they took their lives is not mentioned.

The diary of a Basel minister, Johannes Gast, contains two entries from 1545 which show that in that city suicides were disposed of by throwing their bodies into the Rhine. On the evening of the last day of July, he recorded,

a poverty-stricken (blutarme) widow, the mother of two children of a tender age and whose husband had died in the war, hanged herself. It is said that this morning she was denied the alms which she usually received. As she received this over-harsh decree she fell into despair and killed herself in this way. The next day, on the 1st of August, the unfortunate woman was thrown from the bridge into the Rhine.⁹⁵

When civil law ordered that a suicide should receive no honorable burial, the churches did not have to make a decision.⁹⁶ Thus though in Luther's writings one may find grounds for a more tolerant attitude to suicide on the part of the churches, this may have been limited to reassuring the bereaved that the deceased was not necessarily damned. Whether pastors were magnanimous in judging whether a person who had committed suicide was responsible or not, insofar as it lay within their competence, is something we cannot judge. Too little research in this area has been done. Graff states that measures of church discipline

were not fully and rigorously implemented, but he is evidently referring to the seventeenth century.⁹⁷ If there seems to have been a diminishing desire to use the dishonorable burial as a punishment, possibly because it struck not the deceased but the survivors, this allows no firm conclusions about the state of affairs at the beginning of the process in the sixteenth century. Where church law was civil law as well there appears to have been little change from the Catholic position,⁹⁸ and Luther did not challenge civil authorities to adjust their law. The distinction between rational, responsible suicides and those not of sound judgement seems to have continued to have been made. Only in the nineteenth century did Württemberg pass less rigid laws regarding suicide. Kolb's description indicates that previously suicides considered responsible for their actions were buried outside the cemetery, the others in the cemetery but in a special corner of it. An interment outside the churchyard was certainly held without participation of clergy.⁹⁹

Since suicide was a criminal act with legal consequences, it is not surprising that Protestantism did not bring a radical change in attitudes toward it. Further, suicide was interpreted with the categories of patience, acceptance of the will of God, and faith. Unless it was fairly obvious that a person was momentarily or chronically insane, an attempted or accomplished suicide was taken to reflect the state of spiritual health. Such an act also affected the moral health of the whole community, for suicide, like notorious though not fatal sin, was not a purely private act. All these aspects, added to the superstitions¹⁰⁰ clustered about it, which seemed especially to thrive on violence, made a combination no doubt highly resistant to critical remarks of a theologian or two.

5. Plague

An epidemic of the plague or of other disease, a "sterben" or "sterbensleuften" as it was often termed, intensified all issues of sickness and death. Normal social and economic life was upset;¹⁰¹ the unreasonableness and terrifying suddenness of death were presented even more bluntly than usual. Problems of burial and questions of the

practical and moral advisability of flight or of avoiding infection by avoiding contact with family or neighbors were raised. Church services were a source not only of consolation but of contagion. The number of deaths rose beyond that with which the clergy could properly cope. In Nürnberg, for example, the plague carried off perhaps twenty percent of the population in six months in 1533/1534.¹⁰²

Pastors did not hesitate to offer practical as well as spiritual counsel which might help at such times. Thus we find in sermons of Veit Dietrich, preached on Psalm 91 during the plague of 1543/1544 in Nürnberg, contemporary opinion on the source of infection. "The pagan doctors," he reported, "admirable, experienced, learned people,...know no other origin of this epidemic than that the air be poisoned, and they learn that such poisoning moves from one person to another."¹⁰³ Another common explanation was that an epidemic was a judgement of God, "sent to us," as Luther affirmed, "not only to punish sin, but also to test our faith and love."¹⁰⁴ When a Catholic priest in Savoy interpreted the presence of plague in Geneva as the just reward for the Genevans' rejection of the true faith, Calvin replied that this was indeed a scourge of God meant to discipline them, and justified by their sins. "Therefore," he continued, "we also accept, as you say, that it is time for us to turn back to God and to plead for his forgiveness and mercy and to procure them." But that was as far as Calvin's agreement with his antagonist went, and he proceeded to point out that one found in Christendom "scarcely a corner" which escaped the plague. Thus, he concluded, the whole world lay under God's anger which stretched over the world "as a kind of flood."¹⁰⁵

A Catholic pastor in Franken received a letter from a friend in the 1460's which contained a prayer against the plague and the following advice, paraphrased by Franz:

The fear and anxiety which come over people because of the lack of trust in God were above all dangerous. For if a part of the body were infected, the anxiety drove the infected blood to the heart and from the heart all the blood would be poisoned. If the sick person remained stout-hearted he could recover, if the infected part lay not too near the heart. Therefore one should above all keep up one's courage and to preserve and arouse that was the duty of the clergy.¹⁰⁶

More actively, a Catholic could avail himself of masses, prayers, processions or pilgrimages, and could call on Mary, St. Rochus, St. Sebastian or other saints.¹⁰⁷ Protestants could do little more than "take refuge in prayer and weeping," as Calvin wrote Bucer in 1541, as there was plague in Strasbourg and he expected it soon in Geneva.¹⁰⁸

This was not the counsel of despair that it may appear. He surely meant by weeping not grief but repentance. To seek shelter in repentance and in prayer was to seek it in the only reliable place: in God. Veit Dietrich, however, asked Melanchthon to what extent prayer was heard by God in such a situation. The latter's answer was that the promises regarding prayer were made to the whole church. The church experienced a response to its prayers for deliverance, and it prayed for alleviation of the situation of the individual. When someone prayed for the church and for himself, he should see that the church was preserved and that many individuals had their prayer answered and survived, though not all, according to the secret counsel of God.¹⁰⁹

The inconsistent efficacy of prayers for individuals did not stop the prayers. In addition to the "manifest" function of prayer Keith Thomas points to the "latent function." Corporate prayer was an act of social solidarity, and confession of the sins which were thought responsible for God's anger and the epidemic "reaffirmed the ethical standards" of the society. "Such corporate manifestations were a valuable means of checking panic and disorder."¹¹⁰ Ministers also attempted through sermons and publications to prevent disorder and reactions caused by fear or panic. They not only sought to comfort the various anxious fears of their parishioners, they also gave guidelines for behavior.

From these sources we can learn their opinions on the origins of plague and recommended responses. We can also infer some of the actual reactions to an epidemic. Dietrich said that the "pagan doctors" recommended a "change of air", which was not so frivolous an idea as it may at first sound, considering the belief in the miasmatic nature of the disease. But the Nurnberg reformer pointed out that it was "mad" to believe that just because one was ten or twenty miles away God could not find one. The only succour was to have God on one's side, to be reconciled with him, "that is, cease from sinning and pray for grace and forgiveness and then also for protection and help."¹¹¹ Besides those who fled there were those who betook themselves to alcohol and company

more than usual. One would think, Dietrich commented, that these were just what one would avoid at such a time. He pointed out to his listeners that "even if you drink yourself equally full today, tomorrow and throughout the whole week, you will not always be full," and that such potations actually furthered the disease. Medical opinion advised rather that one be more temperate during epidemics, for "a full body catches the poison the sooner." As his crowning argument against such behavior, he reminded the congregation that the drunken man "cannot think of God, cannot pray nor commend himself to God."¹¹²

The general tendency was not to seek company but to avoid it. Klaus reports that in Nürnberg during the plague people did not stay long in worship services or avoided the sermons altogether. They even appear to have felt that presence at the consecration and elevation of the eucharistic elements was sufficient and to have crowded around the altar for that part, afterwards leaving the church.¹¹³ Fear of infection made the plague a crisis which drove people apart rather than welding them together. Luther complained about the peasants' unwillingness to bring "wood, eggs, butter, cheese, grain, or anything else" into town. "We must suffer for one plague, two: pestilence and hunger. But if they had the pestilence outside, we would have to pick it up from them(, for they trade here in town)."¹¹⁴ Thomas Platter wrote in his autobiography of how his mother as a widow had to bury three of her plague-stricken children herself, "for in the pestilence it costs very much to be buried by the gravedigger." He also noted how happy his wife was to see him as he returned after one visit to Zurich. The pastor had died of the plague, tended only by a servant because no one would help. His wife had been anxious about what would happen if she fell ill. Platter also told of how he had experienced the plague as a schoolboy in Zurich. In one mass grave they buried nine hundred, in another seven hundred bodies. He headed for home with others from his region in the Alps, with a swelling or boil on his leg.

Hardly anyone wanted us then. I went to Grenchen to my cousin Fransy. I fell asleep between Galpentran (a little hamlet at the base of the mountain) and Grenchen eighteen times in a half a day. My cousin tied leaves (Krautblätter) on (my leg) for me. It got better with God's help, and nothing happened to anyone. But neither my cousin nor I was allowed to come near anyone for six weeks.¹¹⁵

It is difficult for us to imagine, perhaps, the terror which could grip a person in a time of plague. People saw how

today one is fresh and healthy and nothing is wrong with him. Tomorrow he gets up again fresh and healthy, and goes, as he customarily does, to his work and business. Suddenly over the work, at the table, on the street, in bed, the pestilence strikes him, so that he lies down and dies (alle viere strecket). And it often happens that today you have spoken, sat, drunk, played with him (or with another), and tomorrow or the day after tomorrow he lies in the churchyard. ¹¹⁶

Epidemics intensified the feeling of being surrounded by death while in the midst of life. Both the regularly high mortality rate and the frequency of epidemics meant that the experience, while intense, was not unique, or even rare. Still, certain questions were particularly acute at such times. Alongside the literature on death in general there were also works specifically on plague. Here the theologians and pastors sought to apply to epidemics the guidelines which applied in normal daily Christian life.

In his 1565 guide to Christian behavior in times of pestilence Johannes Brenz reasoned on the basis of the principle of love of the neighbor that one cannot put a sick person out of the house to die in the street. This was so not only for the sake of the sick "neighbor", but also for the sake of the unknown "neighbor" on the street who could be infected. In more positive terms,

it is a commandment of God and a necessity to come to the aid of the neighbor in his open, present need. But it is neither God's commandment nor a necessity to preserve (one's) physical life longer. Therefore whoever wishes to preserve his physical life (which after all is uncertain and unnecessary) more than he wishes to be obedient to the needful commands of God does not wish to share the eternal inheritance with the son of God in the kingdom of heaven. ¹¹⁷

However, in addition to those who flee rather too quickly were those who "call it sin if anyone changes his residence to avoid the danger of plague." Such people, Calvin wrote a minister in Poland, have not a drop of the milk of human kindness. ¹¹⁸ Luther, too, had to answer queries about behavior in epidemics; he wrote in response to one from ministers in Breslau a booklet on whether one might flee from plague, which was afterwards repeatedly reprinted. Like Calvin and Brenz, he stated that "to

flee from death is in itself not wrong."¹¹⁹ Yet they laid one major condition on flight, for they both agreed with Brenz on the priority of helping others. The question was: "Who is my neighbor?" Luther wrote:

...We are bound to each other in such a way that no one may forsake the other in his distress but is obliged to assist and help him as he himself would like to be helped.

Where no such emergency exists and where enough people are available for nursing and taking care of the sick, and where, voluntarily or by orders, those who are weak in faith make provision so that there is no need for additional helpers, or where the sick do not want them and have refused their services, I judge that they have an equal choice whether to flee or to remain. If someone is sufficiently bold and strong in his faith, let him stay in God's name; that is certainly no sin. If someone is weak and fearful, let him flee in God's name as long as he does not neglect his duty toward his neighbor but has made adequate provision for others to provide nursing care. To flee from death and to save one's life is a natural tendency, implanted by God and not forbidden unless it be against God and neighbor.¹²⁰

Calvin only mentioned duty in his letter. Where that was not neglected one may try to avoid infection.¹²¹ Luther also saw flight as natural, but in his longer work suggested at the same time that a strong faith would keep one from fleeing. Yet he believed "that among the Christians the strong are few and the weak many." He protected the weak against having the demands of the strong pressed upon them.¹²²

Just how many were, under the plague conditions of the sixteenth century, free to flee is a further question. Most of the poor certainly had nowhere to go.¹²³ Luther, Dietrich, Brenz and Calvin all stressed that parents should not leave their children or a man his wife, and vice versa, if they were not otherwise cared for. Pastors had a duty toward their flocks and magistrates toward their communities.¹²⁴ Dietrich offered further comfort for those who did obey God and duty:

Servant and maid should stay with their masters and not despair if they are only pious and God-fearing and do not through sinful living give God reason to punish. He will graciously guard and preserve them on such paths. As we see in experience, in such epidemics (leufften) God honors the calling highly. It seldom happens that God allows a minister or ruler to be attacked by the plague, though particularly the pastor must be constantly around sick people and deal with them and

provide them with comfort and sacrament. On the other hand others, who never come to any sick person, who keep themselves diligently at home in their houses and do not get about much, are poisoned and die.¹²⁵

In all this is clear how little specific knowledge about the nature of disease was available and how theological convictions functioned as substitutes. Yet the attitudes of the leading theologians took both natural causes and providence into account and tried to give both what they felt to be their proper places. They recognized that the helplessness produced by ignorance of the precise working both of nature and of God should not be allowed to produce panic, or through inhumanity toward others make things worse than they already were. Even though the number of pastors and members of their families who fell prey to the plague in one year or another seems to bely Dietrich's optimism, one can imagine how important it was to hold out such hope.

It is notable that God and medicine were not played off against one another, but seen as quite compatible. This is expressed in the acknowledgement that it was natural and acceptable to avoid infection if one could within the limits of one's duty. Ineffective though they evidently were, the doctors were for Dietrich "admirable, experienced and learned." None of these reformers shunned medicine; their estimation of the situation is expressed succinctly by Brenz. He believed that in pestilence one should "humble oneself beneath the mighty hand of God." This consisted in recognition and repentance of the sins being punished through the disease, and

thereafter that one gratefully uses the proper means which God himself prescribed for this, namely prayer, and naturally medicine (which according to its merits can overcome the pestilence).¹²⁶

On this basis the reformers tried to cooperate with precautions and measures thought to be helpful. Brenz did not automatically support those who criticized, as contrary to Christian love for the other, governmental decrees that the sick should be isolated and that people coming from places where plague was present should not be allowed to enter a town. He believed that the sick were also to care for their neighbors by not infecting them, if possible. Flight and quarantine might be expression of love for the neighbor, or again they might not be. He could call the quarantine decree "a determination, interpretation, and explanation

of the part of love which demands that one spare the other and no one should lead the other with him into danger of life and limb." However, the law did not exclude anyone from his or her duty or from seeing that those quarantined had food and other necessities.¹²⁷

The civil authorities passed various regulations in times of pestilence as part of their responsibilities for the common weal. Most interesting for us are those affecting the practices of the ministry under such conditions. A Pestordnung for Regensburg from 1562 gives an idea of the direction such measures probably commonly took. Its remarkable detail indicates how much control the council had over church affairs.

Alternating weekly, one of the four lower clergy or deacons was to attend those stricken with plague. The communion chalice was to be kept at the home of the deacon having 'plague duty'. The sexton was to inform him of those having the disease, but did not have to go along to the communion of the sick. During his week this "wochner" was otherwise to stay at home, to avoid mixing with people, was not to attend church, the bath, or social occasions. The other three deacons cared for other sick people and did the usual work of the ministry. The preachers and the pastor were also to help with baptisms, confessions, and communion, "and in this observe the need and not the Order" which divided the duties among the clergy. Worship services were generally to be shorter than in normal times. The preaching schedule of the Wöchner was adjusted. Arrangements made for hearing confessions suggest that more people than usual were expected. The school was not to sing at burials, but for a while at least a funeral sermon was still held. Later it also was omitted. There was to be no gathering of the people for baptisms. The names of the sick for the intercessory prayer of the church were not to be read from the pulpit; only the number of men, of women, and of children was to be specified. From the "Israel", the doctor or apothecary, the clergy were to get a prophylactic "and to use the same."¹²⁸

In 1563 additions to these regulations were made. "The catechism" was to be held at the regular time. The school pupils' presence and the sermon at burials were completely abolished. The Monday sermon at St. Lazarus, no doubt the hospital's church, was stopped. The one on Sunday continued, not only for those in the plague hospital but for all those under quarantine, who were also to commune then. St. Lazarus' pastor was specifically given permission to marry

and to hold a meal not in a public inn, but in a separate place and to invite to it not more than six people besides his bride and himself. Also, to avoid all danger and gossip, no minister shall appear at this meal, although he be invited to it.

Item: The ministers shall be forbidden fellowship with the said pastor of St. Lazarus.¹²⁹

Fear of infection produced fear of contact with those who visited the sick. Efforts were made to keep the plague isolated, and to continue the usual pastoral ministry - sermons, baptisms, communion, visits to those afflicted with something other than plague, and so forth - so far as possible. Just how the pastoral tasks during the plague should be organized was a subject at Luther's table in October 1542. Someone asked

whether ministers who were employed only for preaching could deny their service to sick people in time of pestilence. He (Luther) replied, "No! By no means! Preachers must not be all too ready to flee in order not to make the people apprehensive. It is sometimes said that pastors and preachers should be spared and not overburdened in time of pestilence, but the reason for saying this is that wherever the pestilence has carried off some of the chaplains there may be others who would visit the sick; besides, it is also said in order that everybody won't shun the priests at such times, for one sees that nobody wishes to go to them and everybody flees from them. Accordingly it would be a good thing not to burden all with this task but to appoint one or two men and let them risk their lives."¹³⁰

This was the arrangement in Regensburg, as we have seen, with the chaplains, there called deacons, alternating, and the pastor and preachers helping to cover the deacons' usual responsibilities. Calvin reported to Viret, also in October 1542, that to deal with the increasing vehemence of the plague in Geneva the ministers were choosing one of their number to particularly attend those stricken. One of them volunteered, and "we all gave it up to him gladly," Calvin wrote. He also mentioned that he did not recommend forsaking the whole community just to attend a part of it. However, he saw that the office they filled left no room for excuses for abandoning, on the other hand, "out of fear of the danger of infection, those who need our help the most."¹³¹

Calvin seems to have thought such fear quite natural, but also that it could be carried too far, and not only on the part of the clergy. During an outbreak of plague three years later he wrote Farel that they had already lost one minister through the disease. He worried that what they desperately needed to do would be further hindered if another died, or "if one be confined for isolation due to the superstitious fear of infection of our officials. Recently it nearly happened that a good part of us were shut up because of that."¹³²

In Geneva the ministers were at least not expected to hold funerals for the dead. Where that was normally customary, as in Regensburg, the practice was evidently continued as long as possible. Yet fear of contagion and the workload of the ministers pressed against continuance. In Reutlingen in 1577, it is reported, mass burials of adults were held at three in the afternoon after one sermon was preached for them all in the main parish church.¹³³

On the other hand, Bullinger's diary entries for 1564 show that even during an epidemic many people accompanied the body of his daughter Margareta after she died of plague. As Bullinger also lay ill with the disease that autumn and was in bed for thirteen weeks, many people came to visit him and to pray for his recovery. He was able to preach again, but besides his daughter and her baby he also lost his brother-in-law, two nieces and a nephew.¹³⁴

The plague brought not only more work for the clergy, but much grief. The 1541 epidemic in Strasbourg killed Capito and his two children, Bucer's wife and all but one of their surviving children, the son of Oekolampadius, and Zwingli's son, as well as about two thousand, five hundred other persons.¹³⁵ In a letter from Regensburg to Farel from April of that year, Calvin, whose home was then in Strasbourg, reported the deaths of his trusted young friend and deacon Claude Féray, and one of the students who lived in Calvin's household. (A second died later.¹³⁶) Calvin worried about his family and students who had survived but were still in danger.

And though that all makes me already so sorrowful that it could completely obscure my mind and break my spirit, in addition the grief over Claude's death pulls me down incredibly. That cannot surprise you. You can imagine how much I needed in these two years a sure, loyal friend....

But I wanted only to touch upon my troubles briefly

and now I've become so boundlessly lengthy. But the memory of these excellent people...and the faithful care about the survivors is responsible....

In a postscript he returned again to his grief:

If only you could be with me for an hour! I know your sympathy. You couldn't see me without enormous sadness. I must grieve day and night and cannot get out of the sorrow. But I become a bother for you with my lamentations and am after all not more relieved myself by them than if I had as usual quietly choked them back.... You see, I haven't mourned my misfortune so dolefully in the letter itself because I should rather be wretched alone than to shift part of my trouble onto friends. But while I want to excuse myself to you I do it as people in dismay usually do. They can't answer calmly even when they want to be friendly. ¹³⁷

The Protestant pastors generally did not face the epidemics with stoicism or false heroism. They tried to control their grief and fear so that they could continue to exercise their calling at a time when that was needed more than ever. Basically agreeing with the civil authorities' quarantine and hygienic measures and with medical opinion of their day, they also viewed such situations through the glasses of their theology. Thus prayer was as reliable as medical means of fighting the disease, which in those days was no doubt true. This theology actually allowed remarkable flexibility in judging the situation. While willing to console the people so their fear did not threaten either the common order or the salvation of their souls, they could also criticize the worldly authorities for being overly anxious. As the best prevention or preparation, repentance and faith, hope, and love were the basis of their preaching. They attempted to find a middle way between fatalism and enthusiastic, self-chosen martyrdom. In this spirit they neither merely condemned nor merely praised flight as a reaction to the plague. The martyr or saint was not the only model for Christian behavior. Those not given some special grace and faith were also to be comforted. As Brenz wrote, what was meant

is not that someone be given reason for unchristian fear or for blasphemous wantonness, but rather that each one be admonished and reminded in the above-mentioned peril of the good, gracious and fatherly will of God and of his own calling. ¹³⁸

The will of God and a life ordered by each person having a God-given place in it - one or both of these motifs appear in the Protestant interpretations of all the themes of this chapter. Acceptance of the will of God, or "patience", was believed to be the proper, though not always easy response to suffering and grief. By definition God worked for one's own benefit. Here was an interpretation to fit any situation. Nonetheless the tension between certainty and uncertainty, which left so much work for those who could bring comfort, remained. For in practice the explanations were not so clear.

Furthermore, the responsibility of the individual was not denied. Therefore the "impatience" of someone who took his own life could be an admonition to patience. The danger of the plague called for repentance, love of one's neighbor, doing one's duty, and sensible behavior. The death of a son could be a reminder that one had been too proud of the child. The condemned criminal's death was to keep the bystanders from sinning. The shock of someone's sudden death should be an encouragement to prepare oneself for the final hour. Each private tragedy served a higher purpose, according to these pastors, but the eyes of the flesh should not expect to see it.

IV. IN CONCLUSION

Ich thu eine feine Pfarr in han,
 Thu dem gemeinen Volck vorstahn.
 Und ihnen fleissigklichen Predig,
 Mach durch die Buss der Sünd sie ledig.
 Damit getröstet werdt der Sünder,
 Auch so Teuff ich die kleine Kinder.
 Die Heyrat auch einsegnen thu,
 Und sprich den Krancken tröstlich zu.
 Versorg sie auch vor ihrem endt,
 Mit dem heiligen Sacrament.¹

Chapter 8: THE PROTESTANT ART OF DYING*

One can describe a fundamental unanimity in the Protestant reformers' estimations of the minister's task in regard to sickness and death. Yet that harmony extended only as far as did their agreement on faith, the word, the sacraments, and the forms of the life of the church. This correspondence shows that sickness and death for these theologians and pastors involved theological and practical problems; they interpreted people's needs theologically as well as in quite worldly terms. They felt they shared responsibility in these matters with Christian civil authorities, though the precise pattern of sharing varied from place to place. Yet they also believed that they were called to bear the particular responsibility of preparing people for death, or of aiding them to prepare themselves and others.

Just what such preparation should consist in depends on the conception of the nature and meaning of death. Here Veit Dietrich's exposition is representative. Anxiousness, fear, terror, and crying, he declared, mark the natural reaction to death. This is true for animals and for people.

But we people have a death which is called a sin death (sünde todt). For death is laid upon us because of sin. But we all experience what a fearful heart sin creates in us. Therefore our death is immensely harder and more frightening than the death of other creatures. For we must fear for ourselves before the anger and judgement of God which shall follow after death and is eternal.²

*The notes for this chapter begin on page 350.

In interpreting this basic conception, the Lutherans especially used the motif of Anfechtung in considering the event of dying. Yet while they took over Luther's language, Luise Klein contends, they simplified his understanding of death and temptation. She compares as an example works on dying by Luther and by the Mürnbergger Thomas Venatorius. In the former's sermon on preparation for death (1519), death is the manifestation of the human situation before God. Therefore preparation for death becomes the expression of Christian life, and the temptations at death are the fundamental concern of all theological discourse. True theology is consolation. In comparison, she continues, in Venatorius' instruction for the dying (1527) it is no longer the tempted but rather the dying person who is consoled. Though the list of temptations in Luther's sermon are used, the content is not. "Death is here only the hour of death."³

Klein's study is limited to the specific genre of books on death and dying of the sixteenth century. Within that she discerns a development which she categorizes chronologically. At least when one moves beyond the writings she discusses, if not even before, one finds her periodization unsatisfying. It is in any case only approximate, so somewhat vague. The elements she found characteristics for certain periods are found at other times as well. In broad terms she certainly describes the development, but approximate periodization alone is not a sufficient basis for accurate distinctions. She largely leaves, for example, confessional differences out of her discussion, though these might have assisted in explaining certain points she observed. Differences between regions, churches, and confessions must be taken into account, also that the process of reformation had a different timetable in each place, when distinguishing periods.

Without being bound by her periodization, let us consider the characteristics she used to describe the development in the books on dying during the sixteenth century. Her first period is based on Luther's concept of Anfechtung. She sees it ending around 1530. It was not only in the case of Venatorius that Anfechtung underwent a change. Klein believes that with others, too, the idea is "psychologized"; "its peril is, in view of faith, only an apparent peril for the human reality expressed in it is annuled (aufgehoben)."⁴

She finds that the Sterbebücher after about 1530 are "handbooks and collections of materials for the pastor (Seelsorger)."⁵ The Church Orders, catechisms and prayerbooks influenced the books on death, but also often used them in turn. This development she sees as an expression of the increasing institutional stabilization of the Protestant churches.⁶ We have seen in the Church Orders the gradual ordering of the pastoral ministry in this field in the various churches and the forms produced. Interest in instructions as well as consolation, in discipline as an aspect of Christian life, and in helping the dying to face death with hope was shared by the Protestant reformers of southern Germany and Switzerland, in spite of their theological differences. Klein's conclusions about her sources from this period tally with our findings:

The awareness of sins, occasioned by the address of the pastor, took the place of the Anfechtung as the prerequisite for the proclamation of the consolation. The relationship of Anfechtung and consolation is at the same time the relationship of sick person and pastor.

The representation of Anfechtung and consolation moves therefore between two points of emphasis. On the one side, Anfechtung is understood as an act of God; on the other side, its place is taken by the consciousness of sin which is at a person's disposal.⁷

The development brought not only a modification of the significance of temptation. Klein notes, as we have, that it came to be expected that consolation would be worked by instruction.⁸

After around 1540, according to Klein's divisions, a new emphasis appeared in the literature on death. She characterizes this as "preparation for death as the expression of the Christian life."⁹ She sees the significance of sin in the situation of death replaced by the world. The world was compared to the splendors of the life to come; the aim of Christian life was a blessed end, the "seliges Stündlein". Thus Christian life was viewed as one of constant repentance in preparation for death and the eternal life. She contends that in the latter half of the century late medieval and Erasmian elements entered the genre once more.¹⁰

Here her conclusions are less transparent, perhaps because she must generalize about a period of sixty years, whereas the earlier two covered about ten years each. We have chosen to consider the decades up to about 1570 with earlier ones, and feel there is reason to see another period generally as beginning rather later Klein does for the literature she discusses. She sees the "influence of humanist thought"¹¹ as important for this characterization of the third period, but such influences flowed into the reformation in southern Germany and Switzerland, at least, from the beginning. It seems unlikely that they did not also influence the literature on death produced by men from this area earlier. Indeed, in a sense she recognizes that they did, in counting Bullinger's Bericht der Krancken as marking the beginning of her third period, for it was first published in 1535.¹²

When we look at the opinions of the Protestants on disease and death on a broader scale than Klein's study does, it is clear that the elements she identifies are all present, though we would not adopt her categories for distinguishing periods. Transmutations of ways of expressing concerns and the weight given them took place over the years. However, desire for proper preparation for death and for a "seligen Stündlein" are to be found throughout our period.

The needs of the Christian in the area of preparation for death were seen as two-fold. There was the 'chronic' need of making ready for that one inevitable yet uncertain event. This accompanied a person throughout life; it was a result of the nature of a human being. Ideally this preparation would have been treated as a life-long task. Those who stood on the very threshold of death had an 'acute' need of preparation for crossing it. While both needs had much in common, the latter was not merely more intensive, but naturally brought new aspects.

Sin, death, and the devil were the enemies of the Christian, but escape was possible, and the Protestants basically agreed on the way. Veit Dietrich expressed it in an exposition of the "Nunc dimittis" so:

This is then the single right and sure art: Whoever wants to escape death and to be free of sins holds himself to this saviour whom God himself has ordained to take our sins upon him, pay for them and therefore redeem us. Whoever does that will be able to say with Simeon, let death and all other peril come as

they want: "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace."

...It is soon said, that is true. But one can grasp it only very slowly. For even those who are the most learned in this art scarcely know the a b c's. Therefore it will always be necessary that one does not postpone it. No, begin early and undertake it seriously and let it be your chief study. You will nonetheless have enough trouble to learn a little of it and to remember it.¹³

Though it seems to contradict belief in salvation sole fide, concern for proper behavior in the final hour of life continued to influence the piety of Protestants. Proper behavior was the only possible sign for others of the necessary possession of faith. Therefore it played a role in comforting the bereaved. The doctrine of justification by grace alone tempered the finality of the actual circumstances of death to some extent, as views on sudden death show. Yet the fear of sudden death or of a final blasphemy under the pain of disease remained. To understand this fully would require a thorough investigation of the meaning of faith and of its relation to life and works. On these many opinions are possible within Protestantism. Since this cannot be undertaken here, let us rather try to summarize the ways ministers of the time tried to meet this situation.

1. Preparation for Death

The Pfalz-Neuburg Order of 1543 turned to St. Augustine as its authority in declaring that each Christian

should ever (für und für) prepare himself for temptation which will not fail to come, secure himself with the divine scriptures in times of peace, health and ability, and equip himself with spiritual weapons..., so that he may stand firm in troubles, sicknesses, and temptations of the devil, also in the final hour, and overcome through Christ and his word. For as the Lord says: "He who endures to the end will be saved" (Matt. 24.13), at which time temptation at its greatest and most violent is to be expected.¹⁴

The Order's recommendations to the ministers were for sermons on the uncertainty of the hour of death and the "cruelty of the enemy". Furthermore, Bible passages were to be drummed into their listeners with the admonition to "lock them in their hearts," to contemplate them often, and to use them when needed as a weapon against the devil. This Lutheran Order also recommended frequent confession and communion, though not as though the mere external acts had any worth with regard to forgiveness. The unrepentant sinners were to be frightened into regret and warned not to wait until the last moment. Reception of the eucharist with firm faith was believed to bring not only participation in the grace of God, but also "fruit": correction and renewal of life.¹⁵

Except for the remarks on confession and frequent communion there appears to be nothing here which could not have been echoed by the Swiss reformers. Two desires evidently inhabited the hearts of the pastors and ministers of this period. One we might designate 'certainty and confidence', the other 'repentance and correction of life'. Both were preached in connection with death. The challenge for the "servant of the word" attending the sick was to know which of these two medicines was necessary for a particular person or in a particular situation.

Against the uncertainty about how and when one might die, Veit Dietrich declared:

That I shall die and be saved I know for certain, praise God, and the devil and the gates of hell should not take that from me....Yes, the person who lets that be made uncertain for him is damned (verdambt). Now because this is certain, we should not let ourselves be troubled by the other part which is uncertain, namely, how God will take us from this life. If der liebe Gott lets me come to the bed (to die), I trust his grace, also pray for it daily. He will preserve me in true faith in his life-giving (lebend machendes) word to the end. But if he takes me suddenly, that is also good. For I have nonetheless a saviour who has promised me after my life the eternal life, though he did not assure me equally how he wishes to let me die.¹⁶

Calvin could consider fear of death a sign of unbelief. He saw that it was human nature to dread death, but found it

wholly unbearable that there is not in Christian hearts any light of piety to overcome and suppress that fear, whatever it is, by a greater consolation.¹⁷

The "immortality to come" was for Calvin grounds rather to long for death.

Let us, however, consider this settled: that no one has made progress in the school of Christ who does not joyfully await the day of death and final resurrection. ¹⁸

Behind this, as behind Dietrich's utterances, was the assumption that one must, in any case, accept the will of God. Seeking death, as well as trying to flee it at all costs or not accepting it, was condemned.

The effective consolation for the fear of death was the hope, the certain hope, of eternal life. For the fear of judgement it was the forgiveness of sins through faith in Christ. In no case was it to be one's good works. "Not that one denies the sins," explained Dietrich,

but such thoughts about our life there at the moment in no way help, but rather will put us the deeper into anxiety and despair the longer (we think about them). ¹⁹

When facing death, the reformers thought, no one could feel comfortable looking at the past; one could only look toward the future.

Yet some seemed to manage to do what the reformers found appalling: to be at the end of life and yet to refuse to condemn it. While many people evidently suffered in the face of death from fear and uncertainty, others were judged to be not fearful enough. These, it appears, could for all practical purposes be recognized by their lives. The "scorners of the sacrament" and "notorious sinners" needed a medicine other than consolation. Luther's advice here was sharp and representative, though written for the situation of plague, when pastors had more than enough people to attend:

It must be noted that those who are so uncouth and wicked as to despise God's word while they are in good health should be left unattended when they are sick unless they demonstrate their remorse and repentance with great earnestness, tears, and lamentation. A person who wants to live like a heathen or a dog and does not publicly repent should not expect us to administer the sacrament to him or have us count him a Christian. Let him die as he has lived because we shall not throw pearls before swine nor give to dogs what is holy (Matt. 7.6). ²⁰

While the sacrament of communion continued to be an element in pastoral care of the sick in many, though as we have seen not all, of the Protestant churches, in comparison to Catholic practice sacramental ritual decreased in significance. Words - from the Bible, from a book on dying, from the pastor, or from someone else at the bedside - were at least theoretically of equal or greater importance than the eucharist. The Protestant pastor was, as a result of this development, not required as was the priest. The reformers and authors of Church Orders urged that the minister be informed of and called to those confined by illness, but few suggested that he should go on his own initiative. There are also indications that people asked their minister to come less often than some reformers would have liked. Less clear are the reasons for this. Our sources regularly ascribe it to lack of piety or spiritual insight, not to social factors.

Not all the clergy necessarily had the same responsibility for visiting the sick. It was a task always assumed to be included in the ministry of the word and sacraments, but a certain division of labor was evidently introduced in towns, as the arrangements in Regensburg during the plague demonstrate. Yet especially during epidemics, and even otherwise, it could have proved impossible to receive a minister's visit before one died. Therefore every person should be prepared for death: not only for one's own sake, but to be able to aid others.²¹

Bullinger's Bericht der Krancken was one book meant to guide such attempts. The list of the headings of the twelve chapters on illness and dying is a summary of the points considered important. Only the addition of confession and communion would be needed to have it complete for Lutherans as well:

- i. The sick person should give himself entirely into the will of God.
- ii. To seek the doctor and to use medicine in illness is not sin.
- iii. Dying bears much comfort and alleviation, relieves us at once of all misery.
- iv. No one should regret (the loss of) the beauty, adornment, joy, and delight of this world because it is all short and inconstant.
- v. Wife, child, friends, wealth or poverty should bother no one too much during the illness.
- vi. Of the consolation of the holy gospel, and that all salvation (heil), the pardon and forgiveness of sins is in Christ Jesus.

- vii. The sick person should not let the payment for sins and the pain of purgatory bother him.
- viii. That Jesus Christ is the resurrection and the life in whom we are raised and live eternally.
- ix. That faith in Christ has its power and effect and what they are.
- x. From faith grows love of God and of the neighbor, that we forgive our enemy and are patient in all suffering and steadfast in all temptation.
- xi. Of the prayer of the faithful and how the sick person should commend himself to God.
- xii. In the death of Christ we have a perfect example of how we should prepare ourselves for death.²²

2. Patterns of Dying Well

The suffering and deaths of others, and not only of Christ, were often held up as examples to the people of the sixteenth century. It was little trouble to find realistic, one could say living (and dying) examples. Illness and death were part and parcel of life. The sick and dying were not hidden away and separated from daily existence. This does not mean that pastors did not complain that people suppressed the thought of their mortality and avoided preparing for the next life as though this one would go on forever. This, however, seems due more to human nature than to the absence of visible reminders or to lack of effort on the part of the reformers. Examples for imitation, examples as inspiration, examples as warnings - the patient suffering of Christ, the crucifixion of the thief beside him, the execution of a prisoner, a suicide, the praiseworthy death of a member of the parish, the refusal of a respectable burial to a local scoffer could be used. In the later part of the century, Luise Klein reports, a special form of the literature on dying developed which presented the exemplary deaths of pious Christians.²³ This development paralleled that of the Leichenpredigt, in which the funeral sermon came to include a description of the life and death of the deceased as a regular element.

However, for earlier in the century our interest in narratives of deaths is not determined by how influential they were. Even those not later spread through publication reveal something of what was considered an exemplary way of facing death and of the pastor's role.

The passing of Magdalena von Bora, an elderly aunt of Luther's wife who lived in the Luther household, is briefly recorded in the Table Talk. As she lay ill Luther asked her if she knew him and could understand him. When she indicated that she could,

he said to her: "Your faith stands entirely on the Lord Christ!" Thereupon he said: "He is the resurrection and the life! Nothing will hinder you; you will not die but fall asleep as in a cradle. And when the dawn breaks you will rise again and live eternally." Then she said: "Oh, yes!" Then the Doctor (Luther) asked her: "Do you have no *Anfechtung*?" "No," she said. "What? Then does nothing hurt?" "Yes," she said, "It hurts around my heart." Then he said: "The Lord will soon deliver you from everything bad. You will not die!" And he turned to us and said: "It is well for her! For that is no death, but a sleep." And he went thereupon to the window alone and prayed. (He) went away from her again around twelve in the afternoon. But in the evening about seven she fell asleep in Christ very peacefully.²⁴

A peaceful death was valued. Death as sleep appears also in the report of the death of Luther's daughter, and was evidently a thought which Luther found consoling.²⁵ Here the reformer's words are considered central, rather than the behavior of the aunt, for it was certainly thought that they would be valuable as comfort for others.

In the case of Oecolampadius, the report of his death portrays the dying reformer as the one who comforts his grieving family and colleagues. Late in November 1531 he recognized the seriousness of his condition, called his family to him and prepared them for his death. He told them that the separation was not for ever. "I go now from this vale of woe across into the eternal life. You should be joyful to know that I am soon at the place of eternal rapture."²⁶ Then he celebrated the eucharist with his wife, her relatives, and the servants, saying:

This meal which I eat with you now is a sign of my true faith in Christ Jesus, my Lord, Saviour and Redeemer. The true sign of love which he left behind for us shall also be my last farewell to you. If I live until tomorrow, I shall celebrate it again with my beloved brethren in the ministry and friends in Christ.²⁷

The next day the clergy of the whole city were called to him. He told them there was no need for grief, fear "of life and of death," doubt, or error. Only following Christ was important; he urged them to

do that firmly in spite of the dangers. He was not, he said, bothered by charges against him, for his conscience was clear regarding the way he had led the church. He took each by the hand and heard him promise to care for the church. The communion was not celebrated as he had planned. Some felt it was better to wait a day; Paul Phrygius felt the repetition superfluous.²⁸ Oecolampadius acquiesced, but explained why he had desired a second celebration:

I know well that salvation does not consist in external signs and in eating (with the mouth), but rather in inner eating through faith. Therefore I do not want to press this....I only desired it in order to comfort myself with you in true love and unity and to take my leave of you.²⁹

The following day his children were brought to his bedside. He spoke with them, blessed and embraced them. The ministers came again and watched at the bed through the night. Oecolampadius asked one if he brought any news. When the negative response came, he reportedly said: "But I want to tell you something new: soon I shall be with the Lord Christ."³⁰ At dawn

the hour of death struck. Still he prayed the 51st Psalm until the end with deep sighs. Then he drew a breath again and entreated: "Lord Jesus, help me." With these words he passed away. The ten ministers present had thrown themselves upon their knees around the bed and accompanied with silent supplications the passing soul.³¹

The Basel reformer's death gave rise to rumors and reports as did Luther's later. It was said he had committed suicide, or was taken by the devil.³² The account of his death was so detailed no doubt partly in order to counter such suggestions.

It was surely considered good that the dying person in this case retained his voice to the end and confessed his faith one last time.³³ In two letters of Calvin to Farel we have descriptions of the deaths of two people who died unable to speak. The first was Calvin's friend and supporter, a political leader in Geneva, Ami Porral. There are some interesting similarities to the report of Oecolampadius' last few days.

Porral also realized in advance that his illness would be fatal, Calvin said, although his condition at first did not seem so serious. He gave each person who visited him "an admirable exhortation"

appropriate to the individual. On the morning of his death Calvin and Viret came. Calvin spoke briefly "of the cross, of the grace of Christ and the hope of eternal life."³⁴ Poral answered

that he properly accepted the message as from God, for he wellknew what power the Christian ministry had to strengthen the consciences of the faithful. Thereupon he spoke so splendidly of the ministry and all its worth that we were both seized by astonishment, and whenever I think of it I must be astonished even now. For when he spoke it was as though he presented one of our long- and diligently-prepared discourses.³⁵

Poral called the other ministers to him and reconciled himself with them, so no one could misuse his example later for strife. He advised the ministers, and called for harmony among them.

As he later realized he was losing his voice, he said he held to the confession of faith he had made before. He repeated the "Nunc dimittis" from Luke's gospel. Then he could no longer speak, but showed by nodding his head that his mind was still clear. His former colleagues in the government came, and Calvin. The latter spoke to him and he listened with a peaceful expression on his face. Soon after they left he died.³⁶

A clear mind, acceptance of the coming death, and a firm confession were important. Here there was no communion, but the friends and people with whom he had worked - and fought - came and he took his leave of them. The death of an important figure in the community was not a private affair. Yet once all was arranged so that the person was at peace it was not considered important that the minister wait until the actual moment of death, though someone was watching with the dying.

Calvin's wife Idelette also received a visit from all the ministers of Geneva as she lay dying. Calvin's description in a letter after she succumbed following a long illness in 1549 relates that his colleagues prayed together, and exhorted her to be faithful and patient. She let them know how she stood in regard to that. Calvin promised to care for her children from a previous marriage. He was impressed by her trust in God and in him, that she did not especially worry about the two children. "So great was her greatness of spirit that she seemed to have left the world."³⁷ This 'letting go' of the world was one step toward a peaceful death.³⁸

On the day of her death she received another visit from one of the ministers.

At that time she expressed herself in such a way that all could see that her heart had already risen high above this world. These were her words: "Oh, glorious resurrection! Oh, God of Abraham and all our fathers, for many ages all the faithful have hoped in you and none has been disappointed. So also shall I hope." Such broken sentences were rather thrust out than spoken. And she did so not following the words of others, but as the thoughts moved her heart she declared in a few words what her thoughts were.³⁹

Calvin was called away. While he was gone she felt that her voice would soon fail.

She said: "Let us pray, let us pray; pray for me all of you." Just then I came home. She could not speak any more, but her expression showed the movements of her heart. I spoke to her in a few words of the grace of Christ, of the hope of eternal life, of our married life and of departure, then I took refuge in prayer. With a clear mind she listened to my prayer and was attentive to the instruction (doctrinam). Shortly before eight she passed away quietly, so that those present scarcely discerned (the transition) between life and death.⁴⁰

Here again the ministers offered words of consolation and encouragement, they prayed. Calvin found it a comfort to know that she testified to her faith in her own words, as Poral had also more eloquently done. Her last words were pious, and even after she could no longer speak her face assured her husband that she understood his comfort and prayer. Her last moment was peaceful. She died well.

Of course such a well-prepared and gentle death was not possible for everyone. But if the signs of true faith were lacking because of the circumstances of the last moment, the previous life of the person could yield them. None of these signs were to be taken as absolutely certain, as though the judgements of God were transparent to human eyes. However, a "good death", or "seliges Stündlein" was felt to be a blessing and a comfort both to the dying and to the mourners. In any case, so long as the aspect of correction and renewal of life seemed not to be thereby adversely overtoned, that of confidence, certainty, and consolation colored pastoral care of the dying most strongly.

Das ist auß der wusten ein lustgarten machen, auß
dem Creutz ein freud, auß dem weinen ein lachen,
unnd auß dem todt das ewige leben.¹

Chapter 9: THE PASTOR'S CRAFT, THE DEAD AND THE BEREAVED*

The harmony among Protestants in southern Germany and Switzerland was even greater with regard to the dead and the bereaved than it was in the case of the sick and dying. This surely was due to the fact that no sacrament was involved once Roman Catholic theology and practice were rejected. A consensus on that rejection was reached very early among Protestants. The common opinion can be summarized by quoting the seventh of the ten theses debated in Bern in 1528:

Scripture does not tell us there is any place beyond this life in which souls are purged. Therefore all services for the dead, vigils, masses, processions, anniversaries, lights, candles, and other such things are in vain.²

A list of the "abuses and ceremonies...abolished and corrected" in Nürnberg which also was drawn up in the 1520's went beyond a similar rejection of earlier beliefs and customs. It indicates a first step toward a new formulation of the nature of Christian burial:

One makes no ostentatious display with the deceased, as is right. For whoever dies in faith does not need it. Whoever dies in unbelief it does not help, for he is already sentenced because (as Christ says) he does not trust in the Son of God.³

Yet this was still stated negatively. From here the Protestant reformers developed a more positive response to the continuing needs for disposing of the bodies of the deceased and coming to terms with the loss.

*The notes for this chapter begin on page 353.

1. Burial

The simplification of the ceremonial surrounding interment cannot in itself be taken as characteristic of the Protestant reformation. A less elaborate ritual may be seen as being in line with a development begun earlier.⁴ What the Protestant movement produced was a radical alteration in the definition of the aim of the burial ceremonies. They were no longer felt to serve primarily needs of the deceased, and indirectly those of the living. From the Protestant point of view they served only the living. On this the reformers agreed.⁵ Where there were differences among the reformed churches on funeral practices, these may have reflected local traditions, as the announcement of deaths to the congregation evidently did. However, they often mirrored differing assessments of the needs of the living and the means of meeting these.

There being no sacramental acts connected with the reformed burials in our area of the Continent, the presence of priest or minister was not required. Mediation by the church was no longer considered to be needed by either the dead or the living. Some reformers felt that these new teachings were effectively expressed by not having the interment carried out under the auspices of the church. While in some cities, as we have seen, this remained the practice, in other places the results of such an attempt produced a greater anxiety on the part of the church leaders. If proper burial did not demand the church's participation, it nevertheless had significance. Too light-hearted an approach to getting rid of the corpses was for the reformers as scandalous as too much dismal pomp.

Whereas earlier the people came to funerals with their heads covered and wailing as though God himself had died, Johannes Brenz complained, now they came bare-headed and acted as though they were pleased by their friend's death.⁶ The proper proportion was not immediately evident to all. Earlier the anniversary of a death had been marked; after reformation, according to Brenz, no one remembered the dead as was right. Before, the graves were decorated with flowers; when Protestant, no one wanted to attend a burial. Brenz sought to teach his listeners and readers that an honorable burial was a sign of love, gratitude, and respect for the saints, that is, those people who have died in Christ. A person's death was not an animal's death. There was the hope of resurrection.⁷

Difficulties in finding an acceptable mean in relation to the dead in the possibly confusing situation of reformation seems nothing so remarkable. However, it is also the recurring individual problem, as Yorick Spiegel's study of the process of grief shows. His general conclusions appear not inappropriate for the sixteenth century as well as the twentieth. These indicate two extremes in relations of the living to their dead: that of holding on to them, of not, in a sense, letting them be dead, and that of trying to dispose of them as fast and unemotionally as possible. He writes:

At the burial the ritual has the function of facilitating the release of the deceased and thereby of hindering the transference of the emotional bond from the living simply to the dead. Its task is to control the emotions which prevent this release (Freigabe)The notion of wanting to detain the dead stands over against the other extreme of the attempt to get rid of the dead as quickly as possible....The deceased must be put beneath the earth and this should happen as swiftly and painlessly as possible....The ritual misses its function of controlling emotions when it gives the impression that the dead should be cast away, or may not be released.⁸

The guidance of the Protestant theologians and ministers concerning burial was also aimed at, among other things, helping Christians avoid these two extremes.

The Protestant burial was a public confession of faith and of social solidarity, according to the reformers who reshaped the act. Many seem to have felt that the presence of a minister could indicate and support these points without unduly suggesting former "superstitious" beliefs or encouraging ostentation. The custom of holding a sermon or address at some point in the ritual, at the house, in the church, or at the graveside, then provided an opportunity for reminding the community of the significance of the event. Such a consideration prevented Calvin from recommending rejection of some Lutheran funeral practices introduced in Montbéliard.⁹ Of course other sermons also offered such an opportunity, so that even if a minister did not officiate at a burial the people need not have lacked all instruction.

Yet witnessing the interment of a member of the community, as witnessing someone's last illness and death, was judged to be a particularly effective reminder of points every Christian should keep in

mind. Bucer summarized what the reformers generally considered appropriate thoughts at a funeral. Those present, he wrote, should be

reminded from the word of God of his severe judgement against sin, and also of the redemption of Christ who has redeemed us from death, and the resurrection to eternal life which he has won for all who believe in him. In addition, the people are to be exhorted to repent of their sins and to hope firmly in the blessed resurrection and the life of heaven, and also to foster an earnest zeal and longing for this life to come, with the constant mortification of the old Adam and advancement of the new.¹⁰

Knowledge of the faith and thoughts of mortality, the reformers hoped, would affect the way a person lived and died. As a confession of belief in redemption and resurrection the Protestant burial was also an instrument of edification. Not only the words spoken at funerals, whether from the Bible, in prayers, hymns, or sermons, served as a means of admonition and exhortation. A dishonorable burial - one apart from the Christians, at an uncommon hour, or without the customary pastoral accompaniment or procession of family and neighbors - also was meant as a warning to the living, since it was not to be thought to affect the deceased.

The living needed more than edification. They also needed to be helped to cope with the loss of yet another member of their society. The social function of the burial was recognized and valued by the reformers. The public nature of the ritual was to provide in part the comfort needed by the bereaved. It was a way of reassuring them of the sympathy of their neighbors. It assured them of the continued orderliness of their society and their places in that order. It was a sign of life going on, set against the experience of life cut off.

2. Grief and Patience

In letters to people mourning the loss of a family member or of a close friend, the reformers indicated their concern for the grieving individual. In the Church Orders, which are of necessity impersonal, the comparative lack of attention for the individual mourner is perhaps

quite unremarkable. Yet whereas in the sections on the sick and dying the individual was clearly the focus of attention, even where the community was drawn in, the sections on burial have a different tone. It is as though the pastor has turned to the public and sees the individual as one among many. Taking into account the mortality rate this does not seem inappropriate. It throws light upon the combination of instruction, edification, and consolation, though that can also be found in letters to individuals.

The consolation offered was presented first and foremost as a gentle admonition in the form of I Thessalonians 4.13: "We would not have you ignorant, brethren, concerning those who are asleep, that you may not grieve as others do who have no hope." This was regularly taken as both a recognition of Christian grief and as a limit upon it.¹¹ The bounds of mourning were drawn by the hope of the resurrection and reunion. Veit Dietrich suggested treating the death of loved ones

as though they moved away, out of our town and land, into another land for some time, where we, too, shall come afterwards at the proper time and thus again live our life together. Here one sees how it is natural that one is grieved about such a leave-taking. But beside the grief the hearts rely always on the consolation. It is possible to do it for the short time until we are again together.¹²

Also used to try to stem the grief of the bereaved was a thought offered the dying as comfort. It was axiomatic for the reformers that the eternal life was to be preferred to this "vale of woe". In admonishing people to moderation in grieving Bullinger asked:

Who would really wish to be untrue to his (dear ones) and to desire that they be led here (again) into this wretchedness from the rest and peace, when after all their highest joy is that they are relieved of all this misery which they had among us?¹³

One senses a certain rigor as well as sympathy. While the counselling methods and the line of reasoning differ, Bullinger's insight parallels that of Spiegel on the ability to release the dead.¹⁴

While grief was considered natural and was accepted, within limits, Protestantism contained a condemnation of the "natural": its teaching on the depraved nature of human beings. A grief which was not tempered after the consoling words were heard could become the occasion for

feelings of guilt. There are hints of such feelings, for example, in the letters of Hans Rudolf Lavater after the death of his son.¹⁵ Each death was believed to be an expression of the will of God. Grief was natural, but only too natural - it was a manifestation, however understandable, of the inability to accept that will. Patience, on the other hand, was acceptance of troubles as in accord with God's will and therefore for one's own good, even without seeing quite how that was so. This patience was more than a neutral resignation. We have called it a "theological virtue", for true patience in affliction, in the sense of the Protestant reformers, included recognition to some degree of the meaning of suffering, a glimpse of the life and joy which was the meaning of the cross.

Calvin was aware of the problem which grief and the exhortation to patience could create for the conscientious Christian. He discussed it in the Institutes "in order to recall godly minds from despair, lest, because they cannot cast off the natural feeling of sorrow, they forthwith renounce the pursuit of patience."¹⁶ He denied that patience meant "insensibility" for Christians. It is rather "forbearance" in the face of

the contradiction between their natural sense... and their disposition to godliness....Thus...at the funerals of our dear ones we shall weep the tears that are owed to our nature. But the conclusion will always be: the Lord so willed, therefore let us follow his will. Indeed, amid the pricks of pain, amid groaning and tears, this thought must intervene: to incline our hearts to bear cheerfully those things which have so moved it.¹⁷

This was not a denial of the hardness of suffering, nor of the natural desire for a better life. Rather, from this point of view the better life lay hidden in suffering. Calvin found the main consolation for grief in the providence of God: that everything happened for the benefit of the faithful,¹⁸ though they might not be able to understand how. While the concept of providence did not receive the same central position in the theologies of many other reformers, they also employed it to console the bereaved, as well as to comfort the dying. Parents were to look beyond the death of a child, to accept God's order for the world, and to believe that their child had, in fact, received the better part. The condemned prisoners, and no doubt those who mourned them, were told that they were actually benefiting from the grace of

God by not having suffered a sudden death. Repentance was worth more than a long earthly existence, for repentance in faith was the door to everlasting life. That the will of God revealed itself as providential in allowing such prisoners to approach death properly prepared may strike us as strange comfort at such a time. However, such a death was also seen as belonging to an orderly world, one ordered not merely through the civil law, but primarily by God. Since God was aiming at his people's salvation, there was comfort even for those mourning someone's sudden death, or a suicide if it had not been committed in "impatience".

By and large it is true that Protestant theology was focussed on consolation. Only those who were considered to have consciously and clearly rejected the gospel, the unrepentant sinners, were considered deserving of harsh treatment from the church: excommunication and finally a dishonorable burial. This was explained as an example to the living, not as something which could affect the dead. Instruction and edification were also important to the Protestants. If they did not always have the inherently significant theological position of consolation, they seem nonetheless to have been frequently as important in practice. They became, for practical purposes, the prerequisite for effective comfort.

What the theologians and pastors tried to preach, to teach and to express in their rituals is easier to describe than is their success in moving their flocks to adopt and live by those beliefs. We have concentrated upon the first, which must precede an attempt at the second. With the backing of the civil authorities and much of the population many practices were reformed and others forbidden, that much is clear. However, open or hidden attacks continued, from Anabaptists and other radicals, from those still loyal to the old faith in varying degrees, and from those whose blithe or belligerent disregard for the church earned them excommunication and a shameful burial.¹⁹ The reformers' own lives were not easy ones. That they themselves were kept from resignation and despair by comfort such as they offered others is one impressive sign of its effectiveness.

Wir sind Protestleute gegen den Tod.¹

Chapter 10: DISTINCTIONS AND GENERALIZATIONS*

While it is impossible to close the circle when so conscious of the many points deserving more attention, we nonetheless return to the pair of queries which we mentioned as catalysts in the early stages of this study. These concerned the differences between Catholic and Protestant pastoral care and between that of the Lutheran and of the Reformed churches. A few very brief and often tentative reflections on the two motifs thereby provided form the final chapter.

1. Catholic and Protestant

Without denying the tradition's significance for Protestant thought and practice, we notice a remarkable change in aims and exercise of the pastoral ministry in the areas we have considered. All the beliefs and customs which Protestants considered "superstitious", that is, contrary to the word of God, did not suddenly disappear. Whereas theologies can be thought in advance of many changes in the church's life, the ministry is bound by daily events, by people individually and in groups, by actual opportunities taken, rejected, or never noticed. The work of reformation was one requiring years of effort, indeed generations, and was dependent on so many factors. Yet in the areas the reformers could affect - which were more than just liturgical matters - changes were gradually made. The pastors complained often enough for us to be wary of overestimating their success. Still it is remarkable that rituals accompanying crises as emotionally- and spiritually-charged as dying and death were quite quickly modified. The sacrament of extreme

*The notes for this chapter begin on page 355.

unction, in some places communion of the sick as well, and vigils and masses for the dead seem to have been abolished relatively early in the process of reformation. The forms used with the sick and dying and for burial often continued to be altered further. When Clebsch and Jaekle make a single period of pastoral care out of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,² they appear to grant too little significance to ritual, or to sacrifice distinctions to their general plan of the centuries.

One can date edicts, disputations, prohibitions, and Church Orders, but the process of reformation spread out on both sides of such points. Rulers, councils, patricians, priests, preachers, citizens, artisans, the "common people" had to be prepared to accept changes, to support them, and to initiate them. This meant not only individuals changing. Social or communal change was also required, and the reformation is misunderstood when seen as changes only at an individual level. The Protestant reformers we have considered supported, if not what we would call collective piety, at least communal piety. This was more appropriate to their cultural context than a highly-individualized type.

On the one hand social factors affected piety. On the other, expressions of Christian life and spirituality, though difficult to grasp, are worthy of inclusion with economic, philosophical, or other factors when seeking to explain the developments in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. However, one cannot assume that reforms in the churches affected with equal intensity and speed all levels of the societies of which they were a part. For example, to have the Zurich church and Zurich as a social and political entity become as nearly identical as possible was the aim of Zwingli, not his situation. Others, as Bucer, Oecolampadius, and Brenz, did not have such a conception as an aim, and accepted a somewhat more pluralistic society. Both positions suggest, however, that one needs to make a distinction between a town or territory and the Protestant church in that land. The church need not be defined strictly clerically to rightly exclude some of the inhabitants of the city. Even those counted as members of a church displayed varying degrees of loyalty and distance with regard to their church, of fervor and unbelief with regard to their faith.

The ecclesiastical historian needs the skills and research of others, such as the social or cultural historian and the Volkskundler, to make competent distinctions and generalizations. Unfortunately, as Karl Meuli remarks about his own country, the Protestant reformation marks the beginning of

the great difference in the Swiss landscape of customs between Catholic and Protestant regions: the former are still relatively rich, the latter are poor. Let us say poor in "quaint" customs; custom in a stricter sense is...an element of life without which human (menschliches) life would not even exist....³

This makes Catholic regions rather more attractive for those studying folklore and customs. Hansgeorg Molitor notes the inbalance in the studies of the history of piety and religious life in the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries in favor of, first, the late medieval period, and then, in the sixteenth century, the Catholic church.⁴ Anything like a systematic historical study not only of customs but of social life in the Protestant areas and times that we have considered here is understandably rare.

Yet precisely in regard to customs surrounding death and dying the church surely, even after the reformation, had no monopoly on ritual and custom. The reformers realized that they could try to guide Christians and others in a town or territory through the civil laws and church laws, but that they were not the only influences. The changes that reformation brought, Natalie Zemon Davis believes, "cut out the dead as a kind of 'age group'." However, she goes on to say, "the field was left open to other psychological and social codes to define the relations between the generations in their own way."⁵ We have concentrated on contributions of the Protestant reformers and pastors to the changes and the new orientation. A further step would be an examination of the contributions of the Catholic reformation of the sixteenth century. Davis finds that "late medieval or traditional attitudes" regarding death contrast with both the Protestant and the reforming Catholic ones, for example in the rejection of the mixture of "the macabre and the comic" in late medieval attitudes.⁶ It may be that some of the characteristics of what at first seem to be "Protestant" beliefs appeared as well in Catholic circles of the same period.

However, a difference in aim and form of the rituals dealing with death remained between the two confessions, divided as they were by beliefs on the existence of purgatory. We mentioned in the introduction that Keith Thomas relates the Protestant break with the traditional way of behaving toward the dead and the "hasty and embarrassed funerals of today."⁷ This raises the issue of the adequacy of the Protestant reactions to death, expressed in theology and ritual, for handling the emotions of the bereaved. These questions are not only to be asked about contemporary customs, as Yorick Spiegel and others do, but about those of the sixteenth century.

A few points concerning the adequacy of Protestant patterns we may mention, though a full discussion is not possible. A basic fact about the context in which they were formed is the "visibility" of death in that earlier time, in contrast to our own.⁸ The Protestant reformers supported this visibility, out of a love not of morbidity but of edification. Death was not a strictly private affair.

Davis believes that the medieval beliefs and forms provided the mourners ways to "express their love and anger toward their own dead - their sense of loss and their guilt - without undue self-consciousness."⁹ Allowance for or assistance in expressing aggression toward the dead is a point where modern funeral customs are recognized as weak.¹⁰ What might one say of the customs encouraged by the sixteenth-century Protestants?

Guilt could no longer be assuaged by provision of prayers or masses. Some reformers still expressed qualified approval of private prayers for the dead on a very modest scale. However, it was generally denied that the dead needed anything the living could provide. An honorable burial was still available as a gesture against feelings of guilt. In some places tombstones and monuments were also a possibility, but not for most people.

Anger toward the dead is perhaps not the same emotion as guilt, as Davis seems to suggest. Both the medieval and the Protestant rituals appear to have provided little room for expression of anger, or official recognition of such anger. The customs which existed alongside those countenanced or nourished by the churches should be drawn in, however, before a more certain answer is offered.

To counter anxiety about the dead¹¹ the Protestants had consolations at hand, we have seen. Emphasis on the providence of God and the insistence that the dead were far better off in heaven than in this Jammertal may also have affected feelings of guilt. To counter fear of the dead¹² stood Protestant rejection of belief in ghosts, a corollary of their denial of the existence of a purgatorial state. Their success in convincing their nominal followers of these points is another question, as Keith Thomas ~~has~~ demonstrated for England.

The churches and the length of the period of mourning is a relationship touched upon by Davis.¹³ Catholic rites for certain days after a death marked a ritual period of mourning. Such a period may still have been culturally sustained, as a need taken for granted, in Protestant societies. However, the Protestant churches in the sixteenth century, so far as we can gather from the material we have studied, gave no formal recognition to such a custom, if it continued.

Grieving was accepted; Protestant pastors sought to guide it. Emotions on the whole were to be controlled, not denied. Yet the beliefs about death and the will of God demanded denial or subjugation of one expression of emotion: accusation of God. In following such lines of thought one is led to the Christology of the reformers, for Christ's cross and, to a lesser extent, his resurrection, were their explanation and their justification. Here the remark of Eberhard Winkler, comparing medieval and Lutheran funeral sermons, bears repeating:

The fundamental difference lies in the fact that in the face of death the eye is not directed, as (it is) by Luther, toward the death and resurrection of Christ, but finally again and again to the works necessary to salvation.¹⁴

Good works were not unimportant for our south German and Swiss Protestants, but their significance was redefined. However, in the act of consoling or edifying it was not always possible to explicate the intricacies of Christology. The longing for visible betterment and for practical expression of the faith based in that Christ was very strong. They had no doubts that true faith would be expressed in a moral life, though perfection was impossible and there was hope only because of a forgiving God.

2. Lutheran and Reformed

By drawing the outline of southern Germany as we have, we included more than just the areas of Oberdeutschland in our discussions. Interestingly, Franken did not seem to be continually 'pulling away' from the south to be indentified with the Lutheran north. Liturgically a division can be made between the churches whose services were based on the mass and those who took the preaching service as the basis in designing new worship forms.¹⁵ The liturgical situation affected the forms of the rituals around the sick and the dead, as we have seen. Yet in aims and interests in regard to the life of the church, the reformers of Nürnberg - for example Dietrich and Venatorius - seem very akin to others of the south. Brenz, indeed, was called in to help with the 1533 Brandenburg-Nürnberg Order.¹⁶

The process of building up a confessional identity was a gradual one. Even if a certain uniform tendency toward loyalty to "Wittenberg" or "Zurich" was discernible within a territory quite early, as in Nürnberg, not to mention Zurich itself, this does not imply the antagonism to the other party which became a mark of Protestant confession-alism. Furthermore, political, economic, and social situations affected the kind of reformation that was possible in any place. Nürnberg's Lutherans could not simply use Wittenberg's Saxon pattern, for example, nor Strasbourg Zurich's, even had they wished to. Wilhelm Maurer reminds the historian that it is important

to overcome the unhappy tendency which wishes to understand the confessional development of German Protestantism not from its developing but from its fully-developed state. Here the fully-developed antitheses of the two reformed confessions, which polemical theology (Kontroverstheologie) worked out with masterly skill, are carried back into the formative period of the Protestant church in which quite different talents than that virtuosity were required and released.

The distinguishing labels should not be applied too quickly, nor should they be allowed to have a monolithic effect, obscuring the particularities and characteristics of the reformation in different places and by different people.

It is surely not insignificant that Maurer writes this in an essay on discipline, the office of the ministry, and confirmation in the Hessian Church Orders of 1539, nor that we quote him in the context of this study. For while in the southern German and Swiss churches there certainly were different emphases or positions on church practices, the various churches and their reformers seem to have had much more uniting than separating them. The lines of distinction between them sometimes cut in a way other than one might expect on the basis of traditional - or more modern - images of "Reformed" and "Lutheran" churches.

For example, as we have seen in chapter five the church in Geneva agreed with the Zurich church that the sick had no need of communing at home, and both abolished the practice. Calvin, however, was rather allied with Bucer in his estimation of the benefits of the practice. One can explain the Genevan church's position by noting the early "Zwinglian" influences from Bern, including Farel, in the city.¹⁸ But this is not just a Zwinglian - Calvinist difference; the situation is more complex. Oecolampadius can be distinguished again from the positions mentioned. Certain points made by Brenz on reasons for communion of the sick are not traditional "Lutheran" ones. The danger is that the distinctions covered too quickly by the categories subside quietly from view and cannot be used for correcting further interpretation.

Another problem arises from labels based on the name of one person: Lutheran, Zwinglian, Calvinist. These have tended to be entangled in conflict as the self-proclaimed heirs struggled over the right to bear the name of their forefather. Protestants are still separated by the results of such strife. It of course was not created by the categories in themselves, but by the identification symbolized by them. They suffer thereby, for they are often loaded with the emotions of identification, and are often also standards for judging distance from some norm. They are then difficult to win back as mere helps in orientation. No two churches and no two people have precisely the same views, so categories are, naturally, always generalizations. Each of the reformers we have considered was responsible as an individual, not principally as a "Lutheran", "Zwinglian", "Calvinist", or whatever. Some figures had more authority and more influence than others, there is no doubt. Yet all the others need not fade into insignificance through constant comparison with the greater leaders.

The categories "Lutheran" and "Reformed" can be for study of early Protestantism in southern Germany and Switzerland an aid for introduction to the design, but they are not a sufficient guide. The pattern fascinates precisely through its greater and richer variation.

NOTES

Notes to pp. 1-4

Chapter 1: TO THE PROBLEM

¹Kurt Marti, Leichenreden, 4th ed. (Neuwied/Berlin: 1969), 19. The following verses read:

wenn ich gestorben bin	wenn ich gestorben bin
hat sie gewünscht	hat sie gewünscht
zieht euch nicht dunkel an	preiset das leben
das wäre nicht christlich	das hart ist und schön
kleidet euch hell	preiset DEN
singt heitere lobgesänge	der ein gott von lebendigen ist

²This William Clebsch and Charles Jaekle in Pastoral Care in Historical Perspective (Englewood Cliffs: 1964) sought to do, with the following result: "The ministry of the cure of souls, or pastoral care, consists of helping acts, done by representative Christian persons, directed toward the healing, sustaining, guiding, and reconciling of troubled persons whose troubles arise in the context of ultimate meanings and concerns"(4).

³Cf. Berndt Hamm, "Frömmigkeit als Gegenstand theologischeschichtlicher Forschung", Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche 74 (1977), who in the context of the history of theology pleads the cause of the inclusion of the less original theologians when studying the history of piety and religious life (490f., 494ff.). Moving from one-sided concern with the theological "elite" does not necessarily mean immediately shifting all interest to the peasants or the poor. The church also contained second and third-rate theologians and ministers, the citizens and artisans of towns, etc.

⁴Two interesting articles on the study of the history of piety or church life are the one just mentioned by Berndt Hamm and one to which his was in part a reply: Hansgeorg Molitor, "Frömmigkeit in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit als historisch-methodisches Problem", in: Hansgeorg Molitor, et al., ed., Festgabe für E.W. Zeeden (Münster: 1976). Both E.W. Zeeden and H.A. Oberman have encouraged such research, particularly in the Sonderforschungsbereich in Tübingen under their direction.

⁵Gunther Franz, Huberinus-Rhegius-Holbein (Nieuwkoop: 1973), 215.

⁶Luise Klein, Die Bereitung zum Sterben, typed diss., Göttingen, 1958. She includes a bibliography of Protestant and some sixteenth-century Catholic works.

⁷Visitation records and wills, while not used in this study, may be mentioned as important for further study.

⁸See the map in Sehling 13, 619. A word on spelling: Most place names have been left as spelled in that place (Württemberg, Strasbourg, Nürnberg, Franken). The usual English version of Geneva, Munich, Saxony, Zurich, Cologne and Vienna, the first four because they are so familiar in this form, the last because the

German form may not be, have been used. "Pfalz" instead of "Palatinate" is kept because the composite forms using it would have created awkward translations. In regard to texts: Modern punctuation has been inserted in place of diagonals, and contractions have been expanded (uñ: und; allē: allen, etc.) even in modern editions. U/v and i/j have been brought into line with modern usage, again even in modern editions such as those of Veit Dietrich and the BCP for the sake of consistency. All forms of the umlaut have been given as the modern form. If in a note an English translation is given first, that is the source of the translation. Otherwise the translation was made for this study by the author. The Institutes are quoted in the translation in the Library of Christian Classics (see the bibliography).

⁹Cf. Bernd Moeller, Reichsstadt und Reformation (Gütersloh: 1962); Heiko A. Oberman, Werden und Wertung der Reformation (Tübingen: 1977), 371ff.

¹⁰Cf. Steven Ozment, The Reformation in the Cities (New Haven: 1975), 164ff.

¹¹Oberman, Werden u. Wertung, 352ff.

¹²Ibid., 372f.

¹³The introductions to different territories and towns in Sehling give very good basic introductions to the various developments in each place, including liturgical ones.

¹⁴Clebsch & Jaekle, 13.

¹⁵In n. 2 above.

¹⁶Clebsch & Jaekle, 9.

¹⁷Horst Schmidt-Grave, Leichenreden und Leichenpredigten Tübinger Professoren 1550-1750 (Tübingen: 1974), 36.

¹⁸Winfried Zeller, "Die 'alternde Welt' und die 'Morgenröte im Aufgang' - zum Begriff der 'Frömmigkeitskrise' in der Kirchengeschichte", in: Winfried Zeller, Theologie und Frömmigkeit. Gesammelte Aufsätze II, 1-13. Also his "Protestantische Frömmigkeit im 17. Jahrhundert", in: ibid., I, 87ff.

Chapter 2: SICKNESS, DEATH, AND THE LATE MEDIEVAL CHURCH

¹Inscription on La Clemence, the great bell in the north tower of St. Pierre in Geneva, hung in 1407. Quoted by E. William Monter, Calvin's Geneva (orig. New York/London/Sydney: 1967; repr. Huntington, New York: 1975), 13.

²Ludwig Ruland, Die Geschichte der kirchlichen Leichenfeier (Regensburg: 1901), 208: "Es bleiben aber daneben die Diözesanritualien in Geltung" (after 1614).

³Hugo Grün, "Das kirchliche Begräbniswesen im ausgehenden Mittelalter", ThStKr 102 (1930), 345: "...die Untersuchung der Beerdigung im ausgehenden Mittelalter (ist) in doppelter Hinsicht bedeutsam. Einmal zeigen die gedruckten Agenden einen starken Zug zur

Einheit bzw. Vereinheitlichung, eine Entwicklung, die mit Einführung des Rituale Romanum 1614 zum gewissen Abschluß kommt. Sodann aber hat die Reformation bei Gestaltung des evangelischen Begräbnisses an lokale und regionale Überlieferungen angeknüpft, die in ihrer Mannigfaltigkeit oft nur als das Erbe des Mittelalters zu verstehen ist."

⁴Philippe Ariès, Western Attitudes toward Death from the Middle Ages to the Present (London: 1976), ch. IV, "Forbidden Death".

⁵Johannes von Tepl, Der Ackermann und der Tod, transcr. W. Krogmann (s.l.: s.a.), §XX, 28: "...sobald ein Mensch lebendig wird, alsbald ist er alt genug zu sterben."

⁶Bernard of Clairvaux, "Sermo super Ps. 90", J.-P. Migne, Patrologiae Latinae, CLXXXIII, 250: "Haec enim vita, qui vivimus, magis mors est; nec simpliciter vita, sed vita mortalis....Quid vero agimus ex quo primum incipimus vivere, nisi morti appropinquare, et incipere mori?"

⁷Helmut Appel, Anfechtung und Trost im Spätmittelalter und bei Luther (Leipzig: 1938), 63: "Das Spätmittelalter...ist auch die Zeit, in der die letzte Not, der Tod, gradezu alle Lebensäußerungen beherrscht...."

⁸Johan Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages, trans. F. Hopman (Harmondsworth: 1972; orig. 1924), 139f.

⁹Ariès, 105.

¹⁰Huizinga, 140.

¹¹Bronislaw Malinowski, "Der Tod und die Neuintegration der Gruppe", in: Friedrich Fürstenberg, ed., Religionssoziologie, 2nd ed. (Neuwied/Berlin: 1970), 74.

¹²Walter Neidhart, "Die Rolle des Pfarrers beim Begräbnis", in: Rudolf Bohren and Max Geiger, ed., Wort und Gemeinde (Zurich: 1968), 230.

¹³Martin Elze, "Spätmittelalterliche Predigt im Angesicht des Todes", in: Bernhard Lohse and Hans P. Schmidt, ed., Leben angesichts des Todes (Tübingen: 1968), 88-99. Sermons were not usual in connection with burials in the middle ages, though exceptions were made, especially for people of higher status. (Bruno Bürki, Im Herrn entschlafen (Heidelberg: 1969), 172; Friedhelm Jürgensmeier, "Die Leichenpredigt in der katholischen Begräbnisfeier", in: Rudolf Lenz, ed., Leichenpredigten als Quelle historischer Wissenschaften (Cologne/Vienna: 1975), 128.) Biel summarized in his sermon so much of the common theological thought about death that it is worthwhile to give Elze's description in detail. Furthermore, such a sermon shows what could be said to non-clerical circles, and what could be said directly at a time of grief. That Biel worked for years in southern Germany makes his sermon that much more interesting for our study.

¹⁴Elze, "Predigt", 93.

¹⁵Ibid., 92.

Notes to pp. 9-12

¹⁶Ibid., 91, quotation from Biel.

¹⁷Ibid., 97. This last point may not immediately be recognized as an evil, but as Elze remarks: "Denn daß die Welt eine wohlabgestufte Ordnung und die menschliche Gesellschaft fest nach Ständen und Rängen gegliedert sei, das gehört zu den Grundlagen mittelalterlichen Denkens und Lebens. Insofern der Tod dieses Ordnungsgefüge offensichtlich negiert, stellt er also in gewissen Sinn die gesamte damalige Lebensanschauung in Frage." Death is a crisis with wide social dimensions.

¹⁸Ibid., 91.

¹⁹Ibid., 93f., 91f.

²⁰Ibid., 92.

²¹Ibid., 98. Eberhard Winkler, "Scholastische Leichenpredigten", in: Heinrich Benchert, et al., ed., Kirche-Theologie-Frömmigkeit (Berlin:1965), compares early 14th c. funeral sermons with Lutheran ones of the 16th and 17th centuries and concludes: "Der Unterschied besteht nicht darin, daß in der mittelalterlichen Leichenpredigt statt der Gemeinde die Toten den Sinn der Predigt bildeten. Die grundlegende Differenz liegt in der Tatsache, daß angesichts des Todes der Blick nicht, wie bei Luther, auf Christi Tod und Auferstehung gelenkt wird, sondern letztlich immer wieder auf die zum Heil nötigen Werke. Die zentrale Erkenntnis der Reformation liefert das entscheidende Kriterium für den Unterschied von scholastischer und evangelischer Leichenpredigt." (186).

²²Elze, "Predigt", 92. Jürgensmeier points out: "Nicht zu übersehen ist, daß alle die genannten spätmittelalterlichen Leichenpredigten inhaltlich in naher Verwandtschaft stehen mit der zeitgenössischen Ars-moriendi-Literatur" (131).

²³Ariès, 37.

²⁴A basic description of this development is to be found in Rainer Rudolf, Ars moriendi (Cologne/Graz: 1957), a "textgeschichtliches" work where nonetheless the contents of various writings are to some extent described. The literature on this subject is manifold; Rudolf's list of Abkürzungen (pp. XXI-XXIII) gives the main works. Omitted there is Mary Catherine O'Connor, The Art of Dying Well: The Development of the Ars moriendi (New York: 1942). Clebsch & Jaekle print excerpts from one ars moriendi, The Craft of Dying as Exhibit 10, pp. 178-189.

²⁵Rudolf, 9.

²⁶Appel, 67ff. Cf. Rudolf, 57f.

²⁷Appel, 72-75; and Rudolf, 66f. (who very closely paraphrases Appel).

²⁸Rudolf, 69; Appel 75f., who prints the woodcuts in an appendix, 141ff.

²⁹Appel, 78-85; Rudolf, 71-74.

³⁰Friedrich Gerke, "Die satanische Anfechtung in der Ars moriendi und bei Martin Luther", Theologische Blätter 11(1932), interprets avaritia with rather too much freedom as "hanging on to the inheritance which the sick man in dying must leave behind to his relatives" (328). For him Satan tries to distract the sick man's attention from God by the necessities of the moment--the claims of the family and arrangements for the inheritance. For Albert Freybe, Das Memento Mori (Gotha:1909), the interpretation of the wiles of the devil, who points in the woodcuts to the wealth and the family of the dying, is rather that the temptation here is to hang on to these things which he loved in life (237). Appel, who titles the picture "Die Anfechtung der Liebe zum Irdischen" (82), also sees the temptation as distraction from God and salvation by thoughts of wealth, love and friendship, things of this world (82-85). Here Rudolf has copied Gerke's interpretation while still, as usual, taking parts from Appel (73).

³¹Cf. Gerke, 321ff.

³²Louis B. Pascoe, Jean Gerson: Principles of Church Reform (Leiden: 1973), 135.

³³Rudolf, 6. About the "Pfarrzwang" or "Pfarrbahn" he writes: "Deshalb sah sich die Seelsorge durch das Aufblühen der Städte vor neue Aufgaben gestellt, zu deren Bewältigung die Organisation des mittelalterlichen Pfarrinstituts nicht ausreichte. Die Ausdehnung der Pfarrei war oft sehr groß; sie umfaßte manchmal acht oder zehn und noch mehr Dörfer....Auch über das Hochmittelalter hinaus finden wir größere Städte, die nur eine Pfarre bildeten. Noch um die Mitte des XV. Jahrhunderts hatte in Frankfurt/M. bei 12 000 Kommunikanten das Bartholomäusstift allein die Seelsorge, obwohl Sachsenhausen und die Neustadt durch den Main, bzw. durch einen breiten Graben von ihm getrennt waren und deshalb nach der Abendzeit die Sakramente nur mit vielen Umständen gespendet und viele Kranke nicht versehen werden konnten. Von Landpfarreien wird berichtet, daß Dörfer von den Pfarrkirchen so weit weg waren, daß häufig Kinder ohne Taufe und Erwachsene ohne Buß- und Altarsakrament aus dem Leben schieden. Für die Ausübung der Seelsorge kamen die vielen Altaristen, die es gab, nicht in Betracht, weil sie einerseits von den auf die Erhaltung ihrer Einkünfte bedachten Pfarrern davon ferngehalten wurden, andererseits infolge ihrer religiösen Unbildung sowie wegen ihres Lebenswandel dazu untauglich waren." Cf. Alois Schrott, Seelsorge im Wandel der Zeiten (Graz/Vienna: 1949), 25.

³⁴Pseudoaugustine, "De visitation infirmorum", described by Rudolf, 60f. Migne, PL XL, 1147-1158.

³⁵Adolph Franz, Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter (orig. Freiburg: 1909; repr. Graz: 1960), and Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter (orig. Freiburg: 1902; repr. Darmstadt: 1963).

³⁶Franz, Messe, 92.

³⁷Ibid., 136, 103, 106f., 112f., 301f. Gerson wrote that one could not be certain that prayers to the saints would have the desired effect. One should only believe that they would hear the prayers and intercede if that were truly to the benefit of the

person intended (ibid., 301).

³⁸Peter Browe, "Die Sterbekommunion im Altertum und Mittelalter", Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie 60 (1936), 12f. It was by definition unworthy handling if a layperson touched the elements.

³⁹The host alone, or the host dipped in the wine, or both elements (in the early middle ages, but later just the bread). (ibid., 218ff.).

⁴⁰It is likely that a sign, perhaps the ringing of a bell, was given in many places to call people to accompany the sacrament. Those who knelt in devotion as the sacrament passed and those who escorted it through the streets were promised indulgences. In southern Germany, Alsace and Austria, foundations were made to support boys who were to accompany the priest and sacrament, singing, with candles and torches. (ibid., 45, 42f., 46, 51f.).

⁴¹Ibid., 27ff.

⁴²Ibid., 13, 14.

⁴³Ibid., 226f. Browe also writes that in some parts of Germany the host was held up for a condemned prisoner to see before execution, as comfort. On spiritual communion see the article by Louis de Bazelaire, "Communion spirituelle", Dictionnaire de Spiritualité II, 1294-1299.

⁴⁴Before the 12th c. unction took place before administration of the viaticum (J.A. Jungmann, "Viaticum", LThK² X, 762). Jacques Toussaert, Le Sentiment religieux en Flandre à la fin du Moyen-Age (Paris: 1963), mentions confession as immediately preceding unction (210).

⁴⁵Thomas N. Tentler, Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation (Princeton: 1977), 30, 65, 73, 66ff.

⁴⁶"Krankensalbung", LThK² VI, 587. (M. Fraeyman); Bürki, 55 n. 4; Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic (Harmondsworth: 1973), 44f.

⁴⁷Bernhard Poschmann, Buße und Letzte Ölung (Freiburg: 1951), 126.

⁴⁸Ibid., 137f.

⁴⁹Capt. Babyl., LW 36, 120; WA 6, 569.

⁵⁰Ibid., I, 475; WA 6, 571. E.W. Zeeden writes, though without citing his evidence, that extreme unction "doch selbst im Raum der katholischen Kirche damals (im 16. Jt.) weithin in Vergessenheit geraten (war)" (Katholische Überlieferungen in den lutherischen Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts (Münster: 1959), 44f.).

⁵¹Schrott, 43. See Toussaert, 209f.

⁵²To which, for France, Gerson testifies (Appel, 75 n. 1).

⁵³Schrott, 24f., 33f., 39.

⁵⁴Toussaert, 209.

⁵⁵Cf. ibid., 210; Veit Dietrich, Agendbüchlein, Sehling XI, 522; Karl Brandi, The Emperor Charles V, trans. C.V. Wedgwood (London: 1965; orig. 1939), 643. Freybe reports as fact some of the things Brandi terms "legend" (Freybe, 58f.).

⁵⁶Jürgensmeier, 127: "Nach der katholischen theologischen Lehre 'Von den Letzten Dingen' werden der Tod des Menschen, Gericht, Himmel, Hölle und Fegfeuer in einem Zusammenhang gesehen. Vor dem Hintergrund dieser Theologie ist es nicht möglich, den Begräbnisvorgang isoliert zu betrachten. Vielmehr hat er als Teil des gesamten Übergangsritus zu gelten."

⁵⁷Ruland, 177f. He writes that burial was usually within 3 days of death, but was sometimes later (179).

⁵⁸Ruland, 178.

⁵⁹Bürki, 170. The details of prayers and customs differ so from place to place that it is impossible to begin consideration of them here. Even the results of liturgical research in which geographical distinctions were made would not thereby answer the question of the extent to which liturgical resources were utilized in normal practice.

⁶⁰Ruland, 172.

⁶¹Schrott, 43-48.

⁶²Also termed exequien, todten ampt, vigilie, sêl ambt, sêl messe (Hansjosef Goertz, Deutsche Begriffe der Liturgie im Zeitalter der Reformation (Berlin: 1977), 113f.). The requiem mass was not held on Good Friday or Easter, and if at all possible not on other Sundays or festivals (Ruland, 179f.).

⁶³Bürki, 171, who says that this was "aus Furcht, mit einem Verlorenen Gemeinschaft zu halten." On the other hand, infrequent communion was the rule rather than the exception in the late middle ages, for many reasons, so a particular explanation does not need to be sought here. Cf. Schrott, 38ff.

⁶⁴The absolutions were the final prayers, censing, and aspersing of the corpse (Cross, "Absolutions of the Dead", 9).

⁶⁵Jürgensmeier, 131, who writes that such a sermon was nearly always held in the church, though the medieval "Predigtsäulen" sometimes found in cemeteries show that sermons at the grave were known.

⁶⁶Ruland, 176, 181f.

⁶⁷Franz, Messe, 232. On "Selgeret" cf. Grimm X¹, 44f. To the remark of Franz in the second paragraph Eberhard Grötzing, in his Tübingen dissertation (Luther und Zwingli. Studien zur Vorgeschichte des Abendmahlsstreits, typed diss., Tübingen, 1979), remarks: "Von einem solchen theologischen Vorbehalt, der die Wirkung der Seelenmesse ins Ungewisse gestellt hätte, habe ich aber weder bei Thomas, noch bei Petrus Lombardus, noch bei Gabriel Biel irgendeine Spur entdecken können. Entsprechende Einwände scheinen erst im 16. Jahrhundert erhoben worden zu sein, ohne daß

sie sich jedoch durchgesetzt hätten" (49 n. 2).

Robert Th. Stoll reports, giving the historian of Basel Rudolf Wackernagel as his authority, that in 15th c. Basel, with a population of about 15,000 "und bei nur etwa 70 städtischen Angestellten, bis zu 1500 Priester, Mönche und Kirchendiener an den vielen Basler Kirchen, Kapellen und in den Klöstern tätig waren, und ihr Dienst bestand vor allem im kultischen Betreuen der Abgeschiedenen. Das mittelalterliche Basel war vor allem eine Stadt gepflegten Totenkultes" ("Bilder vom Sterben und vom Tod im Basler Kunstmuseum", in: Gesellschaft Schweizerischer Zeichenlehrer, Ortsgruppe Basel, ed., Der Tod zu Basel, "Arbeitsmaterialien" to the exhibition of that title (Basel: 1979).

⁶⁸ Franz, Messe, 234, and 244-267 for a detailed discussion. Indulgences were another way to help the deceased, though this effect was long a point of disagreement among theologians, with the result that before 1457 no bull for a papal indulgence was issued which applied the indulgence to the dead (*ibid.*, 233).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 243; Cross, "Requiem", 1155. In the Eastern church the days marked after burial were the third, ninth, and fortieth. The ninth day followed the pagan "Novendiales", according to Franz, who writes that for that reason the Western church did not accept it. However, in France the ninth day was still held, and in Anglo-Saxon monasteries the seventh and ninth were marked. Other localities might have marked the fortieth, fiftieth, or hundredth day (Franz, Messe, 235).

It is interesting that the Jewish tradition measured the ritual of grieving in terms of phases marked at the seventh, the thirtieth, and the three-hundred-and-sixty-fifth days. Yorick Spiegel describes the process of grieving in contemporary culture through stages which his experience indicates are as follows (though these are not strict periods, since the phases overlap and reoccur after another has already begun):

- 1) shock phase--lasting from a few hours to 1-2 days;
 - 2) controlled phase--usually ends with burial, 3-7 days;
 - 3) regression phase--1-2 months;
 - 4) adaptive phase--ritually, a year brings it to a close.
- (Yorick Spiegel, "Der Prozeß der Trauer", Wege zum Menschen 24 (1972), 4-9, and Der Prozeß des Trauerns, 3rd ed. (Munich/Mainz: 1977), 58f.

⁷⁰ A.N. Galpern, "Late Medieval Piety in Sixteenth-Century Champagne", in: Charles Trinkaus and Heiko A. Oberman, ed., The Pursuit of Holiness (Leiden: 1974), 159: "These were voluntary associations of men and women, under the patronage of a specific devotion, which met at a particular church. The surviving records suggest that every village church, no matter how small, had at least one such group. In some rural and all urban parishes, there were several, offering a wide choice of devotions to honor."

⁷¹ Natalie Zemon Davis, "Some Tasks and Themes in the Study of Popular Religion", in: Trinkaus & Oberman, 317. Schrott writes: "Das Andachtsbedürfnis wurde fast ausschließlich in diesen Fraternitäten befriedigt; die Gottes- und Heiligenverehrung, aber

auch die Armen- und Krankenpflege in gegenseitiger Not lag in ihrer Hand" (37). Schrott includes here both confraternities and guilds. One of the guilds' functions, as the confraternities', was to ensure a worthy burial for their members (Grün, "Begräbniswesen", 365).

⁷²Heinrich Reincke, Hamburg am Vorabend der Reformation (Hamburg: 1966), 55.

⁷³Davis, 317. She contrasts this with Calvinism: "The brotherhood and sisterhood of the Calvinist movement in the mid-sixteenth century owed its strength partly to the fact that it was organized around symbols less exclusive than one or two saints and among those craftsmen, foreigners and women, who had been little integrated into the confraternities. The later success of the Counter-Reformation in cities was due partly to the fact that it accorded some scope to voluntaristic confraternities among laymen, while strengthening the unity of the more inclusive parish" (317f.). She thus suggests that some groups, those which often seem to be invisible to the eyes of many historians, may not have been so well-integrated in the confraternal movement as some others were.

⁷⁴Thomas, 720.

⁷⁵Cf. Tentler, Sin and Confession, 6-9.

⁷⁶Thomas à Kempis, The Imitation of Christ, trans. L. Sherley-Price (Harmondsworth: 1952), Book I, ch. 23, pp. 58-59.

⁷⁷The Waldensians and Hussites were truly in the minority. Nonetheless, their churches gave a number of those who left the Roman allegiance in the 16th c. impulses or corroboration for their reform efforts.

⁷⁸Hubert Jedin, A History of the Council of Trent, trans. E. Graf (Edinburgh: 1957), I, 140. In the case of Giles of Viterbo, a reformer of the Order which was to produce Martin Luther, for example, a "return to the ancient and sanctioned traditions of the order, both in its great ideals and in the minute details of daily procedure, was a hallmark of Giles' reform of the Augustinians and suggests the mentality with which he approached the reform of the Church as a whole. Giles had no doubts that these traditions were univocal and, as such, recoverable in their original form, nor that any particular modification of them in the light of changed economic or social conditions might be called for" (John W. O'Malley, Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform (Leiden: 1968), 166).

⁷⁹Jedin, I, 163.

⁸⁰Clebsch & Jaekle, 23. These scholars use the phrase to describe the particular pastoral task in the early middle ages, through approximately the 11th c., which, while not totally displacing other tasks, "polarized all the others around itself" (12). Within their periodization and characterization scheme, early medieval "guidance" made way for the "sacramental healing" (23-26) of the high middle ages. Renaissance and Reformation, as we indicated in the introduction, are taken as one period, with "reconciling" the dominant task (26). However, guidance is an intelligible

word without their definition. This three-fold phrase as a description for pastoral care in the Christian church in periods other than the early middle ages is useful. It is not misleading when it is clear that its use does not imply appropriation of the characterizations and delimitations of Clebsch and Jaekle.

⁸¹Bernd Moeller, "Religious Life in Germany on the Eve of the Reformation", in: Gerald Strauss, ed., Pre-Reformation Germany (London: 1972), 29. (Ger. orig.: "Frömmigkeit in Deutschland um 1500", Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte 56 (1965), 29.)

⁸²See Pascoe on Gerson, and Gasparo Contarini, "De officio episcopi", trans. in: John Olin, The Catholic Reformation: Savonarola to Ignatius Loyola (New York: 1969), 90-110.

II. CONSEQUENCES OF PROTESTANT THINKING FOR THE CARE OF SOULS

Chapter 3: REAPPRAISAL OF THE SACRAMENTAL SYSTEM

¹From the report of the German Lutheran, Christoph Rinck, a tailor's apprentice, about his stay in the Hôtel Dieu, the largest hospital of Paris, in 1657. Quoted in: Theodore Schäfer, Die Innere Mission in der Schule, 5th ed. (Gütersloh: 1900), 217. The full report is found on 214-217.

²Zwingli did not like the term itself since it was unbiblical, but he also used it. Religione, CR 90 ZW 3, 757; also Schlußreden, CR 89 ZW 2, 126f. (both hereafter given only with page numbers). Both works are found in ZWHS. Religione is trans. in vols. 9 & 10 (Theologie I & II). The Schlußreden, with trans. of difficult words or phrases in the notes, are in vols. 3 & 4 (Verteidiger des Glaubens I & II).

³Religione, 761f.; ZWHS 10, 35f.

⁴Inst. IV.19.20.

⁵Capt. Babyl., WA 6, 569f., 531ff.; LW 36, 121, 64-67.

⁶Inst. IV.14.7. Capt. Babyl., WA 6, 531f., 570; LW 36, 64f., 121.

⁷Capt. Babyl., WA 6, 529f.; LW 36, 61. Cf. Inst. IV.14.8f.

⁸Religione, 760f.; ZWHS 10, 32ff.

⁹"Sakrament" I.3, RGG³ V, 1324f. (E. Kinder), and cf. the sources given there.

¹⁰Franklin H. Littell, The Origins of Sectarian Protestantism (New York: 1964), 45.

¹¹Schleitheim Confession (1527), Leith, 284. Littell, Origins, 46.

¹²Peter L. Klassen, "Zwingli and the Zurich Anabaptists", in: Max Geiger, ed., Gottesreich und Menschenreich (Basel/Stuttgart: 1969), 209f. Littell, Origins, 13, 14: "The important point to emphasize is that the real issue here was not the act of baptism, but rather a bitter and irreducible struggle between two mutually exclusive concepts of the church. Zwingli was finally committed

to the state church; and the continuance of the parish system and cantonal denominational division was implied. The Anabaptists, on the other hand, were out to restore apostolic Christianity. Baptism became important because it was the most obvious dividing line between the two systems, and because it afforded the authorities an excuse for suppressing the radicals by force."

¹³François Wendel, Calvin. The Origins and Development of his Religious Thought (London: 1963; orig. 1950), 318-329. For Luther, see Jaroslav Pelikan, Spirit versus Structure (London: 1968), 77-97, who makes the point that Luther's arguments for infant baptism which were based on the continuity of the tradition were arguments for apostolicity.

¹⁴Religione, 763; ZwHS 10, 38.

¹⁵Alfred Niebergall, "Kirche und Seelsorge nach Bucers Schrift 'Von der waren Seelsorge'", Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte 63 (1965), 44.

¹⁶Cf. Bu, "De regno Christi", Bk. I, ch. VII, in: Wilhelm Pauck, ed., Melanchthon and Bucer (London: 1969), 236.

¹⁷Inst. IV.15.3. See also IV.19.17.

¹⁸Wendel, 320.

¹⁹LW 36, 59f.; WA 6, 528.

²⁰Inst. IV.15.5.

²¹Capt. Babyl., LW 36, 68; WA 6, 534.

²²Religione, 704; ZwHS 9, 123. Cf. art. I of the Schleithem Confession: "Baptism shall be given to all those who have learned repentance and amendment of life, and who believe truly that their sins are taken away by Christ, and to all those who walk in the resurrection of Jesus Christ, and wish to be buried with Him in death, so that they may be resurrected with Him, and to all those who with this significance request it (baptism) of us and demand it for themselves" (Leith, 284).

²³Cf. Capt. Babyl., WA 6, 533; LW 36, 67.; and Inst. IV.14.14.

²⁴Cf. Inst. IV.15.19.

²⁵Zw, Fidei Ratio, CR 93 ZW 6², 803.

²⁶Ibid., n. 6; also R. Pfister in ZwHS 11, 272.

²⁷Denzinger³⁵, # 1317-1319.

²⁸Carl-Gustav Andrén, "Die Konfirmationsfrage in der Reformationszeit", in: Kurt Frör, ed., Zur Geschichte und Ordnung der Konfirmation in den lutherischen Kirchen (Munich: 1962), 37, 38.

²⁹Denzinger³⁵, # 1318.

³⁰Lu, Capt. Babyl., WA 6, 549f.; "Welche Personen verboten sind zu ehelichen" (1522), WA 10², 266; "Vom ehelichen Leben" (1522), WA 10², 282. Zw, Schlußreden, 122. Cal, Inst. IV.19.5-12.

³¹Andrén, 42; Lu, "Vom ehelichen Leben": "Sonderlich aber meyde das affen spiel der fermelung, wilchs eyn rechter lügen thand ist. Ich laß zu, das man fermele So fern, das man wisse, das gott nicht davon gesagt hatt, auch nichts darumb wisse, und das es erlogen sey, was die Bisschoffe darynnen fur geben. Sie Spotten unßers gottis, sagen, es sey eyn Sacrament gottis, und ist doch eygen menschen fundle" (WA 10², 282). See Capt. Babyl., WA 6, 550; WA Br 9, #3534, 232.

³²Inst. IV.19.4, 6. Cf. Mel, Loci: "Confirmation is in my opinion the laying on of hands" (Pauck, 146; Stud., 156).

³³Schrott, 31f. Cf. Apologia to CA, XV, Bek. Schr. I, 305. On 16th c. Catholicism see John Bossy, "The Counter-Reformation and the People of Catholic Europe", Past and Present 14 (1970), 64ff.

³⁴"Der kleine Katechismus", Bek. Schr. II, 501f.; Leith, 108.

³⁵Cf. "Schmalkaldische Artikel" on confession: "...so soll man die Beicht oder Absolutio beileib nicht lassen abkommen in der Kirchen, sonderlich umb der bloden Gewissen willen, auch umb des jungen, rohen Volks willen, damit es verhoeret und unterrichtet werde in der christlichen Lehre" (T. III, Art. VIII, Bek. Schr. I, 453).

³⁶His first Invocavit sermon (1522), LW 51, 70; WA 10³, 1.

³⁷Schlußreden, 123f.: "...Sölicher gstatl mein ich die firmung gebrucht sin, damit die, so vormals unwüssend getoufft warend, hernach, so sy zü vernunftt kommend, wüßenhaffter sach den glauben selbs verjehend, doch erst nachdem sy in dem handel des heils wol bericht warend."

³⁸Calvin to Olevianus, 25 Nov. 1560, Schwarz #643 (CR #3272). Cf. Ordonnances ecclésiastiques, in: Peter Barth and Wilhelm Niesel, ed., Calvini Opera Selecta (Munich: 1926-1952), II, 356. An annual inspection of each family in its home by a minister and an elder, with examination of newcomers, was the equivalent for adults (letter to Olevianus).

³⁹Inst. IV.19.13.

⁴⁰CA, Art. XXV, Leith, 86; Bek. Schr. I, 97f.

⁴¹Andrén, 42; Erasmus, in the foreword to his paraphrase of St. Matthew, in: Desiderii Erasmi Roterdami Opera Omnia (Lyon: 1706), vol. VII.

⁴²MBDS 7, 265 n. 25; Walter Caspari, Die evangelische Konfirmation vornämlich in der lutherischen Kirche (Erlangen/Leipzig: 1890), Anhang, 167-171.

⁴³MBDS 7, 265 n. 25.

⁴⁴Littell, Origins, 36.

⁴⁵MBDS 7, 263f. (Ziegenhain Zuchtordnung), 281f., 310-314 (Kassel KO). Cf. Bu, "De regno Christi", 228f. Bucer's work in Hessen survived. Philip Jacob Spener, who found confirmation still practiced, received there and through his reading of Theophil Großgebauer (who repeated suggestions of Chemnitz) the

inspiration to suggest the introduction of confirmation which led to its wide use. (Cf. Lukas Vischer, Die Geschichte der Konfirmation (Zollikon: 1958), 71ff.) The understanding of confirmation in Pietist circles, however, was not that of Bucer.

⁴⁶It is not only that some principle of selection is necessary in such a complex subject, but also that the theological discussions are dealt with in so much of the general literature on the reformation and in so many monographs already. Of the latter, see especially Ernst Bizer, Studien zur Geschichte des Abendmahlsstreits im 16. Jahrhundert (orig. Gütersloh: 1940; repr., 3rd ed., Darmstadt: 1972).

⁴⁷Tentler, Sin and Confession, 80. On other effects of this veneration see ch. 2 above, p. 15f.

⁴⁸LW 36, 35 n. 79.

⁴⁹Capt. Babyl., WA 6, 507; LW 36, 27. On the withholding of the cup: ibid., 502f.; LW 36, 20f.

⁵⁰Loci, Pauck, 70; Stud., 65.

⁵¹Martin Brecht, Die frühe Theologie des Johannes Brenz (Tübingen: 1966), 64, 67, 69f., 71. "Die Diskrepanz zwischen der Einsetzung Christi und der jetzigen Gestalt der römischen Messe scheint eine der ursprünglichsten Erfahrungen des Reformators Brenz gewesen zu sein. Die Kritik des Opfers, der Werkerei und des Götzendienstes in der Messe hat tiefere Wurzeln als die mit ihr zusammengehende früheste Abendmahlslehre. Sie ist letztlich orientiert an dem Verständnis Gottes, des Worts und der Rechtfertigung. Darum konnte diese Kritik aufrecht erhalten werden, auch nachdem sich die Abendmahlslehre (Brenz') modifiziert hatte" (69).

⁵²Brecht, 70. Cf. Capt. Babyl., WA 6, 523f.; LW 36, 51-54. Zw, Religione, 804f.; ZWHS 10, 110ff. Cal, Inst. IV.18.10-15.

⁵³Brecht, 69, 70.

⁵⁴Yngve Brilioth, Eucharistic Faith and Practice Evangelical and Catholic, trans. A.G. Hebert (London: 1930), 96ff., 142. Brilioth is clearly interested in removing some of what he perceives to be a stigma of "individualism" from Luther, a difficult task in the face of Luther's utterances. Cf. also Pelikan, 125. Moeller writes in a note in his Reichsstadt und Reformation: "Es ist des Nachdenkens und der Untersuchung wert, ob nicht der Widerwille der oberdeutsch-schweizerischen Theologen oder doch der Widerwille der Gemeinden...gegen die lutherische Abendmahlslehre auch mit einer Abneigung gegen deren 'individualistische' Züge, ihre Bedeutung für Trost und Stärkung des einzelnen, angefochtenen Christen, in Beziehung steht" (54 n. 93).

⁵⁵Bu, "De regno Christi", 272f.

⁵⁶Ibid., 238. Cf. Bucer's "Grund und ursach auß gotlicher schrift" (1524), MBDS 1, 242, 244.

⁵⁷"De regno Christi", 239; cf. "Grund und ursach", MBDS 1,

244. By "the whole church" Bucer meant the parish.

⁵⁸Religione, 807f.; ZWHS 10, 115f. Fritz Schmidt-Clausen, Zwingli (Berlin: 1965), 72, 107.

⁵⁹Inst. IV.18.8.

⁶⁰Capt. Babyl., LW 36, 36, 41; WA 6, 512, 516. Luther continued to use the word "mass" for a reformed eucharist. The words were important to him as words of promise, to be grasped by faith (cf. Capt. Babyl., WA 6, 514ff.; LW 36, 38ff.). See in this connection for Brenz and Oecolampadius Brecht's discussion of the word and the eucharist, 68, 74-77. The word had for both of them (both influenced by Luther) great significance, according to Brecht. Yet the difference between them is also obvious as Brecht writes: "Für Oekolampad ereignet sich die wahre Speisung geistlich durch das als Verheißung (promissio) verstandene Einsetzungswort, für Brenz bewirkt das Einsetzungswort die reale corporale Speisung" (77).

⁶¹"De regno Christi", 272. Cf. Bucer's advice to people fearing death and hell, in the "Summary seiner Predig" (15) for Weissenburg, MBDS 1, 124. Cf. Zwingli's instruction in the preface to the communion liturgy in Bard Thompson, ed., Liturgies of the Western Church (Cleveland/New York: 1961), 150; also Inst. IV.17.39.

⁶²Bu, "Formula sive institutio brevis, quomodo aegroti sint visitandi", in: Common Places, 430f.; Scripta Anglicana (Basel: 1577), 356ff.

⁶³Quoted by K.R. Hagenbach, Johann Oekolampad und Oswald Myconius, die Reformatoren Basels (Elberfeld: 1859), 170; Ernst Staehelin, ed., Briefe und Akten zum Leben des Oekolampads II (Leipzig: 1934), # 715, 405f.

⁶⁴Religione, 808, 809; ZWHS 10, 117, 118.

⁶⁵Ibid., 807; ZWHS 10, 116.

⁶⁶Schleitheim Confession, Leith, 287.

⁶⁷Littell, Origins, 100; 68f. 98f. On the ministry see section 6 in this chapter.

⁶⁸Ibid., 100.

⁶⁹Bu, "Grund und ursach", MBDS 1, 243f.: (Margin) "Die schewe des tisch Christi allemal teilhaft zü werden, komen von aberglauben."

⁷⁰Inst. IV.17.40.

⁷¹Ibid., 17.41, 42.

⁷²Ibid., 17.42. Similarly, but with his particular emphasis on the sacrament as promise, Luther in Capt. Bab.: "We conclude that the mass was provided only for those who have a sad, afflicted, disturbed, perplexed and erring conscience, and that they alone commune worthily" (WA 6, 526; SWrML I, 409). Also: "The mass, since it is nothing but promise, can be approached and observed

only in faith. Without this faith, whatever else is brought to it by way of prayers, preparations, works, signs, or gestures are incitements to impiety rather than exercises of piety....The safest course, therefore, will be to go to the mass in the same spirit in which you would go to hear any other promise of God, that is, prepared not to do or to contribute much of yourself, but to believe and accept all that is promised you there, or proclaimed as promises through the ministry of the priest. If you do not come in this spirit, beware of attending at all, for you will surely be going to your condemnation" (LW 36, 42, 43 ; WA 6, 517). Cf. Bizer, Abendmahlsstreits, 286-291.

⁷³Littell, Origins, 100.

⁷⁴N. 57. Cf. Zwingli in the quotation from Religione, n. 65. Also Calvin, Inst. IV.12.6, 12, where he particularly distinguishes his conception of discipline from that of the Anabaptists. We shall be concerned again with the subject of discipline in section 2 of the following chapter.

⁷⁵Chapter 5 will give the evidence for this declaration.

⁷⁶Tentler, Sin and Confession, 52; cf. 12f., 345-349, where he indicates the complementary as well as the conflicting nature of these two purposes. See also his article "The Summa for Confessors as an Instrument of Social Control", in Trinkaus & Oberman, 103-126. (Also interesting are the response by Father Leonard E. Boyle, "The Summa for Confessors as a Genre, and its Religious Intent", ibid., 126-130, and the "Intervention" of William J. Bouwsma, ibid., 131, and finally Tentler's "Response and Retraction", ibid., 131-137.) Tentler's work provides a readable, intelligible, and up-to-date guide through the complexities of the issues involved. He is well-acquainted with the literature in several languages, gives his sources, and is interested in and respects both the Catholic and Protestant views (cf. esp. 363-370). Peter Heath, in reviewing the book, finds Tentler optimistic, trusting "too much in the popular influence of his writers" and omitting investigation of beliefs and practices at the parish level (Journal of Ecclesiastical History 30 (1979), 103f.).

⁷⁷Tentler, Sin and Confession, 65f.

⁷⁸Ibid., 368.

⁷⁹Ibid., 109, 113ff.

⁸⁰Ozment, 176 n. 50.

⁸¹Tentler, Sin and Confession, 351; 115: "Indeed, the mind of the hierarchical, sacramental church was far from a reform that would threaten the cherished goal of completeness (of confession)."

⁸²Capt. Babyl., LW 36, 82 ; WA 6, 543.

⁸³Lu: "Thus they say nothing of faith which is the salvation of the people, but babble only of the despotic power of the pontiffs, whereas Christ says nothing at all of power, but speaks only of faith. For Christ has not ordained authorities or powers

or lordships in his church, but ministries" (*ibid.*). Mel: "Therefore, those who are coerced by the pontifical constitution to feign repentance and confession once a year are not absolved" (Loci, Pauck, 145; Stud., 155). Zw, on the "keys": "The popes claim namely that they are a full power of authority which God granted to a person....Nothing other than dominion over the conscience has been sought through them" (Religione, 738, 740; ZwHS 9, 179f., 183). Cal: "...to bind the souls of believers with their laws..." (Inst. III.4.16; see IV.10.1).

⁸⁴Cf. Loci, Pauck, 69; Stud., 64. CA XXV, Bek. Schr. I, 98; Leith, 87. Zw, Religione, 738; ZwHS 9, 179f.

⁸⁵Capt. Babyl., WA 6, 535; LW 36, 69. Mel, Loci, Pauck, 148; Stud., 155. Zw, Schlußreden, art. 54, 407f. Cal, Inst. III.4.27.

⁸⁶CA XXV: "Our wretched human nature is so deeply submerged in sins that it is unable to perceive or know them all, and if we were to be absolved only from those which we can enumerate we would be helped but little" (Leith, 87; Bek. Schr. I, 99). Cal, Inst. III.4.18. Cf. Zw, Religione, 702; ZwHS 9, 119. Erich Roth, Die Privatbeichte und Schlüsselgewalt in der Theologie der Reformatoren (Gütersloh: 1952), writes: "Zwinglis Aussagen über die Erbsünde sind nicht alle gleich eindeutig. Es finden sich auch Formulierungen, die an Luther heranreichen" (120).

⁸⁷Capt. Babyl., WA 6, 548; LW 36, 88. Cf. Inst. III.4.28ff.

⁸⁸Religione, 740; ZwHS 9, 183f.

⁸⁹Loci, Pauck, 69; Stud., 64.

⁹⁰Religione, 701f.; ZwHS 9, 119. Mel, Loci: "What we call 'mortification' the Scholastics preferred to call 'contrition'. I agree to this as long as they are not talking about a sorrow which is feigned through free will (arbitrium) or through human powers" (Pauck, 140; Stud., 149f.). Cal, Inst. III.4.16ff., 21.

⁹¹LW 36, 81; WA 6, 543.

⁹²Roth, esp. 102ff.

⁹³Ibid., 103-110, 136, 137.

⁹⁴Capt. Babyl., LW 36, 86; WA 6, 546. Cf. "Den kl. Katechismus", Bek. Schr. II, 517.

⁹⁵"Ein Summarischer vergriff der Christlichen lehre und Religion, die man zu Strasburg hat nun in die xxviii. jar gelehret...", art. XX, Common Places, 89; German orig. & French in: François Wendel, ed. & trans., Résumé sommaire de la doctrine chrétienne (Paris: 1951), 64f.

⁹⁶Roth, 154, 135.

⁹⁷Inst. III.4.6, 12ff. Cf. Lu, "Den großen Katechismus", Bek. Schr. II, 728.

⁹⁸"Kl. Katechismus", Leith, 122; Bek. Schr. II, 518f. The general confession was with the form of the public confession. His

"Großer Katechismus" also contains a section on confession (Bek. Schr. II, 725-733).

⁹⁹Roth, 110f. Ludwig Lavater, Bullinger's son-in-law, described the practice in Zurich in 1559 so: "Privatam confessionem & absolutionem Tigurina ecclesia non retinuit: quia caret praecepto & exemplo scripturae. Contenta est publica illa confessione, quae ab omnibus, ministro praeunte, soli deo fit. Interim verò, si qui in casibus difficilioribus scelere aliquo preßi, consilium à ministro petant, non reiecit. Absolutionem item publicè annunciat minister, testificans poenitentiam agentibus & credentibus in Christum remissa esse peccata. Item privatim homines consolatur ex verbo dei, non tamen novum aliquem ritum instituit" (De ritibus et institutis ecclesiae Tigurinae, opusculum (Zurich?): (um 1570); foreword 1559), 14b-15a).

¹⁰⁰Religione, 821; ZWHS 10, 138, 139. Cf. Schlußreden, art. 52, 397f.

¹⁰¹"De regno Christi", 244f.

¹⁰²Roth, 136ff.

¹⁰³Ibid., 128. He interprets this in terms of the difference between the est and the significat of the two reformers' sacramental theories, and clearly prefers Luther. He sees Zwingli's position as coming close to a conditional absolution, which Luther attacked. This is an interesting point to remember when comparing forms of absolution used in the Church Orders (see ch. 5, sec. 7). Cf. "Bußwesen", IIId, RGG³ I, 1552f. (P. Meinhold).

¹⁰⁴Schlußreden, art. 52, 396f. Also Grötzinger, 148f.

¹⁰⁵Sehling XI, 529ff.; Chr. Kolb, Die Geschichte des Gottesdienstes in der evangelischen Kirche Württembergs (Stuttgart: 1913), 310.

¹⁰⁶Kolb, 307ff., who says that the absence of confession and absolution in the 1536 Order had more affinity with the views of Ambrosius Blaurer than with those of Erhard Schnepf (310).

¹⁰⁷Württembergische Große Kirchenordnung 1559, facsimile of 1st ed. (Stuttgart: 1968), lxx a-lxx a. (hereafter Große KO).

¹⁰⁸Kolb reports on Reutlingen: "Auch Reutlingen gab ursprünglich die Beichte jedermann frei. Suchte jemand Hilfe und Trost über seine Sünden, ingemein oder insonderheit dieselben erzählend, so tröstete man ihn aus H. Schrift und absolvierte ihn virtute clavium. Absolutio publica et privata wurde ohne Unterschied gebraucht." This probably means that the public absolution was the form used even for private absolution. Kolb then adds: "Später tritt auch in Reutlingen der Zwang ein. Heilbronn dagegen hat die ungezwungene Ohrenbeichte nicht verworfen" (310 n. 3).

¹⁰⁹Große KO, lxx a-lxxii a; lxxiii b. Also Kolb, 311, who reports that Brenz had combined private confession and public absolution in his 1543 Order for Schwäbisch Hall.

¹¹⁰Kolb, 312. He notes that private absolution was introduced in Ulm in 1586 (n. 3).

¹¹¹Roth, 105; Tentler, Sin and Confession, 80; Bek. Schr. I, 439 n. 3. Kolb writes that the 1536 Württemberg form is not a medieval one, and that it is unique among the forms of Protestant Orders. He wonders whether it might be the work of Schnepf.

Osiander in Nürnberg created a controversy in 1533 by protesting at the general absolution, with this form, of a mass of people, many of whom should certainly have had their sins "bound" rather than "loosed". He wished to retain only private confession and absolution. From Wittenberg came an opinion signed by Luther, Bugenhagen, Jonas, Melancthon and Cruciger. This supported Osiander on some points, namely, that the sermon was actually absolution, and that private confession was to be encouraged. Yet the general absolution should be retained, they felt, because it reminded the listeners that the gospel preached was for each of them. It reached everyone, not just those who came to private confession (Roth, 106ff.).

¹¹²Inst. III.4.11. Cf. BCP 1552: "A Communion agaynste Synners, with certayne prayers to be used dyvers tymes in the yere" (BCP, 430). According to K. Halaski ("Offene Schuld", RGG³ IV), Luther turned the public confession into a Vermahnung. In the Lutheran order of service it came before or after the sermon. Zwingli set the Offene Schuld after the sermon; Calvin, following Strasbourg's practice, put it at the beginning of the service (1613).

¹¹³MBDS 7, 280.

¹¹⁴May 1540, Schwarz # 48 (CR # 218).

¹¹⁵Ibid. Cf. Inst. III.4.13.

¹¹⁶Second Helvetic Confession, ch. XXI, Leith, 174. Cf. Lu, "Gr. Katechismus", Bek. Schr. II, 721.

¹¹⁷Große KO, lxx a.

¹¹⁸Tentler, Sin and Confession, 354, 362f. Zwingli explicitly rejected the efficiency of private confession as practiced by the Catholics as a disciplinary instrument, Religione, 823; ZwHS 10, 140f. Calvin did not think much of it either (see Inst. III.4.19).

¹¹⁹Inst. III.4.23.

¹²⁰See, for example, Roth, 111, 113, 134f., 137f.

¹²¹Bek. Schr. II, 731.

¹²²Agendbüchlein, Sehling XI, 530.

¹²³Roth, 108f.

¹²⁴Thomas, 174. Tentler mentions that at least one early 16th-c. Catholic author complained of the general public confessions that "they ignore the circumstances of sins and do not elicit either shame or fear. In brief, they are too obscure: 'That is a blind confession, which no one understands. It is as if someone carried around a covered dish and said, "I'm carrying something and nobody sees it or can guess what is inside."' (Sin and Confession, 115f., quoting the Peycht Spigel (1510)).

¹²⁵Cf. the Württemberg Confession (1551), art. XIX: "...ja man ölet allein diese Leut, zu denen man sich keins leiblichen Lebens mehr versiehet" (Ernst Bizer, ed., Confessio Virtembergica (Stuttgart: 1952), 166).

¹²⁶Capt. Babyl., LW 36, 120; WA 6, 569.

¹²⁷Inst. IV.19.21. Bullinger also compared the Catholics' text and their practice, with the same result. "Die Apostlen salbetend mit öl zür gesundtheit. Die Bapstler salbend erst, wenn sy achtend der mensch werde deß lägers nit mee ufkummen, und nit zur lyblichen gesundtheit sunder zü verzyhung der sünden" (Bericht Wie die, so von wägen unsers Herren...ires glaubens ersücht...antworten und sich halten mögind (Zurich: 1559) quest. 59, 200 (hereafter Bericht Wie)). Cf. Capt. Babyl., WA 6, 570; LW 36, 121.

¹²⁸Lu, Capt. Babyl., WA 6, 570; LW 36, 121. Zw, Schlußreden, art. 18, 126. Eberhard Grötzinger believes Zwingli used Capt. Babyl. here, though the Zurich reformer carried on the argumentation differently. Grötzinger finds that Zwingli "sich mit dieser Argumentation heillos in Widersprüche verwickelt hat", which is perhaps why he broke off the discussion of unction to return to the sacraments (172ff.) In comparison to Zwingli's defense, in the 52nd art. of the Schlußreden, of the thesis that nothing and no one but God can forgive sins, and the resultant rejection of private absolution, it does seem contradictory that he could here speak positively of James crediting the prayer and not the oil with the forgiveness of sins. Grötzinger points out that Luther here spoke of the promise of health and forgiveness which was attached to the prayer rather than to the unction (173). See the quotation below in n. 124 from the same page of the Capt. Babyl.

¹²⁹Eric E. Yelverton, The Manual of Olavus Petri 1529 (London: 1953), 64. Luther also noted this of the traditional prayers in 1520 in Capt. Babyl., WA 6, 568; LW 36, 119.

¹³⁰Yelverton, Manual, 64.

¹³¹BCP, 264f.

¹³²"Erster Nürnberger evangelischer Ratschlag" (1524), sec. 3, in: Landeskirchenrat der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche in Bayern, ed., Die Fränkischen Bekenntnisse (Munich: 1930), T. 2, 435. Cf. Bullinger, Bericht Wie: "Die Apostlen habend die vollkummen verzyhung der sünden dem Blüt Jesu Christi, unn keinem öl zügegäben" (200f.).

¹³³Capt. Babyl., LW 36, 122; WA 6, 570f.

¹³⁴Ibid., 121; WA 6, 570.

¹³⁵"Bekenntnis der Artikel des Glaubens wider die Feind des Evangelii und allerlei Ketzereien", WA 26, 508.

¹³⁶Religione, 824; ZwHS 10, 142.

¹³⁷Schlußreden, art. 18, 126.

¹³⁸E.C. Whitaker, Martin Bucer and The Book of Common Prayer

(Great Wakering: 1974), where the text and Eng. trans. of Bucer's *Censura* to the 1549 BCP is given, 124ff.

¹³⁹Brenz, *Confessio Virtembergica*, art. XIX, Bizer, 166.

Bullinger, *Bericht Wie*: "Sömliche gnad aber, wie ouch der gesundmachung durch das ölen, ist in der kirchen abgangen: darumm hat ouch die ceremony der hend uflegung in disem faal (Mark 6), und die ölung (James 5) ufgehört"(199). Cal, *Inst.* IV.19.19, and in a letter to Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, on methods of reformation, 22 Oct. 1548, Schwarz, # 246 (CR # 1085).

¹⁴⁰*Inst.* IV.19.18.

¹⁴¹*Conf. Virtem.* Bizer, 166.

¹⁴²*Loci*, Pauck, 146; *Stud.* 156f.

¹⁴³"An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation", LW 44, 129; WA 6, 408.

¹⁴⁴*Ibid.* Zw, *Religione*, 824; *ZwHS* 10, 142.

¹⁴⁵Cf. Peter Heath's comments, *English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation* (London: 1969), 191, which surely are also not inappropriate to the German situation. See Paul Drews, *Der evangelische Geistliche in der deutschen Vergangenheit* (Jena: 1905), 7-25.

¹⁴⁶Lu, *Capt. Babyl.*, WA 6, 560; LW 36, 106ff. Bu, "De regno Christi", 239. Cal, *Inst.* IV.19.33.

¹⁴⁷*Capt. Babyl.*, LW 36, 111; WA 6, 562f.

¹⁴⁸Lu: "to preach and to baptize" (*Capt. Babyl.*, LW 36, 111f.; WA 6, 563). Bu: "proclamation of the holy gospel and Christian discipline" (Seelsorge, MBDS 7, 105; hereafter just with page numbers). Baptism for Luther and Christian discipline for Bucer were essentially proclamation.

The complaint that bishops and priests did not carry out the tasks central to their responsibility for the care of souls was heard, of course, from Catholic reformers. Gerson, for example, described these responsibilities as the celebration of the mass, the administration of the sacraments, and the preaching of sermons. His reform programme was strongly hierarchical, and not a little paternalistic. He did not challenge the sacramental structures, but used them, especially penance and extreme unction with its correlative confession (Pascoe, esp. 32ff., 111, 113, 162). Thus while his description of the tasks seems superficially not so far from that of the Protestants, there was a structural difference between them.

¹⁴⁹*Inst.* IV.19.28. Cf. *Apologia* to CA, XIII: "Durch das Sakrament des Ordens oder Priesterschaft verstehen die Widersacher nicht das Predigamt und das Amt die Sakramenten auszu-teilen, sondern verstehen von Priestern, die zu opfern geordnet sein" (Bek. Schr. I, 293).

¹⁵⁰Cf. "Ordination" III & V, RGG³ IV, 1674, 1678 (J. Heubach). G. Seebass writes that the Nürnberg council

"refused to permit the ordination of Lutheran pastors as a special ecclesiastical act along with their installation by the council" (Gottfried Seebass, "The Reformation in Nürnberg", in: Lawrence P. Buck and Jonathan W. Zophy, ed., The Social History of the Reformation (Columbus: 1972), 35.

¹⁵¹Inst. IV.19.28.

¹⁵²Bu, "De regno Christi", 239. Cal, Inst. IV.3.16; IV.19.28,31.

¹⁵³Cal, Inst. IV.15.20ff.; 2nd Helv. Conf., ch. XX, Leith, 169.
See below, ch. 7 sec. 1.

¹⁵⁴Ch. XVIII, Leith, 154.

¹⁵⁵Capt. Babyl., LW 36, 116; WA 6, 566. Cf. CA XIV: "It is taught among us that nobody should publicly teach or preach or administer the sacraments in the church without a regular call" (Leith, 72; Bek. Schr. I, 66).

¹⁵⁶Littell, Origins, 85f.

¹⁵⁷Ibid., 92.

¹⁵⁸Apologia to CA, XIII, Bek. Schr. I, 293f. Lu, "Christl. Adel", WA 6, 407f.; LW 44, 127. Cal, Inst. IV.3.10.

¹⁵⁹"Dass eine christliche Versammlung oder Gemeinde recht und macht habe...", WA 11, 411-414.

¹⁶⁰CA XXVIII, Leith, 98; Bek. Schr. I, 121. The idea that proclamation of the gospel is the true ministry of the bishop is found in the early church.. (MBDS 7, 105 n. 62a.)

¹⁶¹Bu, Seelsorge, 118f., for example. Cal. Inst. IV.3.8. They also made distinctions between these offices, of course. However, their application of New Testament texts, at least in Bucer's case, which they believed set out the necessary structures for the ministry of the church, shows that the difference between the offices, particularly between bishop and preacher, was no essential, but a functional one.

¹⁶²Cf. Bu, Seelsorge, 146f., 156, 158, 159, 212.

¹⁶³Apologia to CA, XIII: "Dieweil nu solchs sehr tröstlich ist, so wir wissen, daß Gott durch Menschen und diejenigen, so von Menschen gewählt sind, predigen und wirken will, so ist gut daß man solche Wahl hoch rühme und ehre, sonderlich wider die teuflische Anabaptisten, welche solche Wahl samt dem Predigtamt und leiblichen Wort verachten und lästern" (Bek. Schr. I, 294). Cf. Bu, Seelsorge, 110f.

Heiko Oberman remarks on what he reads as a claim of Steven Ozment's (in The Reformation in the Cities, 164ff.) that a new clericalism developed in the 1530's and 1540's. Oberman contends: "Es stimmt nämlich nicht ganz und somit gar nicht, daß das ursprüngliche Ideal der Priesterschaft aller Gläubigen bei Erlahmen der ersten Begeisterung von einem neuen Klerikalismus überfremdet und verschertzt wurde. Die städtische Reformation kannte von Anfang an ihren eigenen Klerikalismus." (Werden und Wertung, 352,

354). There was an "Amtsbewußtsein" which he believes can be found in these reformers, and a consciousness of belonging to a learned group as well, in those from a self-consciously humanist, especially Erasmian, background. Oberman continues: "Dieser Status äußert sich in dem Bewußtsein, als wissenschaftlich geschulte Diener des Evangeliums zum apostolischen Wächteramt und zur pastoralen Betreuung berufen zu sein....Die Wiederentdeckung des Evangeliums verbindet sich nun organisch mit der Aneignung der Autorität neutestamentlicher Führungsämter"(355f.).

¹⁶⁴Waldemar Kawerau, Die Reformation und die Ehe (Halle: 1892), 2.

¹⁶⁵Mariam Usher Chrisman, Strasbourg and the Reform (New Haven/London: 1967) writes at one point: "Before the Reformation, attitudes toward marriage had begun to change. Nicholas de Blony and Geiler von Kaysersberg preaching in Strasbourg around 1500 and Gabriel Biel in Tübingen had taught that marriage was a natural and favorable state for man and more important, sanctified by God" (131).

¹⁶⁶Gerta Scharffenorth, "Freunde in Christus", in: Gerta Scharffenorth & Klaus Thraede, "Freunde in Christus werden..." (Gelnhausen - Berlin/Stein, Mfr.: 1977), 197.

¹⁶⁷See the letter of Capito to Oecolampadius urging him to marry and Bainton's account of the finding of a wife for the widowed Capito: Roland Bainton, Women of the Reformation in Germany and Italy (Minneapolis: 1971), 81, 84f.

¹⁶⁸MBDS 7, 125f.

¹⁶⁹Inst. IV.19.34.

¹⁷⁰Lu, Capt. Babyl., WA 6, 551; LW, 36, 93. Zw, Religione, 762. Ca, Inst. IV.19.36.

¹⁷¹Capt. Babyl., WA 6, 550; LW 36, 92. Religione, 762f. Inst. IV.19.36.

¹⁷²Cal, Inst. IV.19.37.

¹⁷³Lu, "Welche Personen verboten sind..." (1522), WA 10², 265f.; "Vom ehel. Leben" (1522), WA 10², 275ff.; Capt. Babyl., WA 6, 553-557; LW 36, 97-102. Cal, Inst. IV.19.37. In Strasbourg a discussion about whether godparents should still be allowed to be named broke out, with Bucer defending their usefulness and the Zells arguing that they were a point where superstitions could survive (Bainton, 66).

¹⁷⁴Lu, Capt. Babyl., LW 36, 102; WA 6, 557.

¹⁷⁵Walther Köhler, Zürcher Ehegericht und Genfer Konsistorium (Leipzig: 1932 & 1942), II, 666; I, 5.

¹⁷⁶"Trawbüchlein für die einfeltigen Pfarherr" (1529), WA 30³, 74.

¹⁷⁷Köhler, II, 654ff., 668f. The whole of the final summary at the end of vol. II (653-674) is worth reading for a properly-differentiated picture. The subject of divorce is of course also

included in this issue, but it suffices here to mention this. Protestant theologies worked here some changes in attitudes.

¹⁷⁸Köhler I, 4.

Chapter 4: MOTIFS AND MEANING

¹Calvin to Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, 22 Oct. 1548, CR XLI, CO XIII, # 1085, 76; Schwarz # 246.

²Above, p. 22, n. 80.

³Lu, "Das eyn Christliche versamlung", LW 39, 312; WA 11, 414. Cal, Inst. IV.3.3.

⁴Lu, "Christl. Versammlung", LW 39, 305; WA 11, 408. Cf. CA VII, Bek Schr. I, 60; Leith, 70.

⁵Cal, Inst. IV.1.9. Cf. 2nd Helv. Conf., XVII, Leith, 146.

⁶Pelikan, 116f. The Luther quotation is in WA 46, 582; LW 22, 54.

⁷Inst. IV.1.1.

⁸Ibid. IV.14.8.

⁹Bu, Seelsorge, 107f. Cal, Inst. IV.3.6.

¹⁰SchlußBreden, art. 62, 441.

¹¹Veit Dietrich, from his Kinderpredigt (1548), quoted by Bernhard Klaus, Veit Dietrich. Leben und Werk (Nürnberg: 1958), 366.

¹²See above, pp. 27, 34, 39.

¹³"Wider die himmlischen propheten", WA 18, 204. (Cited by Max Schoch, Verbi Divini Ministerium I (Tübingen: 1968), 9.)

¹⁴Cf. Pelikan, 117f.; Gerhard Ebeling, Luther. Einführung in sein Denken (Tübingen: 1964), ch. 7.

¹⁵Klaus, 369ff.

¹⁶Ibid., 370.

¹⁷Schoch, I, 13, 15.

¹⁸Pelikan, 117. Schoch, relying heavily on Ebeling's presentation of the meaning of the word in Luther's theology, appears to overlook the variety--and unsystematic nature--of Luther's thought in this respect. Particularly German scholars have made of the two aspects that Pelikan points out two positions. One is especially represented by Ebeling; it is being challenged by Ulrich Nembach, who in Predigt des Evangeliums (Neukirchen: 1972) presents Luther's preaching activity under the phrase "Lehre und Ermahnung--doctrina et exhortatio" (25-29, 56-59).

¹⁹"Schmalkaldische Artikel", T. III, Art. IV, Bek. Schr. I, 449: "Wir wollen nu wieder zum Evangelio kommen, welchs gibt nicht einerleiweise Rat und Hulf wider die Sunde; denn Gott ist

reich in seiner Gnade: erstlich durchs mundlich Wort, darin gepredigt wird Vergebung der Sunde in alle Welt, welchs ist das eigentliche Ampt des Evangelii, zum andern durch die Taufe, zum dritten durchs heilig Sakrament des Altars, zum vierden durch die Kraft der Schlüssel und auch per mutuum colloquium et consolationem fratrum, Matth. 18.; 'Ubi duo fuerint congregati' etc." Melancthon and Brenz particularly emphasized absolution (Robert Stupperich, in MBDS 7, 77; see Apologia to CA, XI, Bek. Schr. I, 249f. Brecht, 51f.).

²⁰Thomas Müntzer criticized scathingly the meagerness, indeed the lie of what the "wordchurch" offered because it did not suffer, nor preach of suffering. See Schoch, I, 10f.

²¹Bucer and Calvin, for example, could solve the problems and doubts raised by obvious ineffectiveness of evangelical preaching through the doctrines of election and reprobation. Wendel, 266-269.

²²"Deutsche Messe", WA 19, 75.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Karl Holl, Luther (Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte I) (Tübingen: 1932), 359.

²⁵See Werner Bellardi, Die Geschichte der "Christliche Gemeinschaften" in Straßburg (1546 bis 1550) (Leipzig: 1934), esp. 108ff. Also Köhler, II, 468ff.

²⁶Köhler, II, 470.

²⁷On differences and similarities see Roth, 150ff.

²⁸Wilhelm Maurer, Gemeindezucht, Gemeindeamt, Konfirmation (Kassel: 1940), 9ff.

²⁹In Stupperich's introduction to Bucer's Seelsorge, MBDS 7, 79ff.

³⁰Cf. Roth, 131f. on Luther and Melancthon, for example.

³¹For the example of Brenz, see Brecht, 61. For Luther see Maurer, 20.

³²Cf. the "cleine enderung im Bruch des Banns" made by the civil authorities of Basel in 1531, which according to Köhler gave "die Obrigkeit ein Kontrollrecht des Kirchenbannes" (Köhler, I, 295). For Geneva see Wendel, 72ff.

³³Maurer, 23-37. On the unclear use of the term 'elder' by Bucer in Seelsorge cf. Köhler II, 448 n.506.

³⁴Maurer, 21.

³⁵See Köhler's work.

³⁶Bu, Seelsorge, 188ff.

³⁷MBDS 7, 7.

³⁸Seelsorge, 157.

³⁹For example, 161, 174, 182.

⁴⁰LW 39, 12; WA 6, 67. Erich Gritsch in LW (n. 10) expands and corrects Luther's reference: Decretalium D. Bonifacii Papae VIII, lib. v (Luther gave lib. vi), tit. XI, De Sententia Excommunicationis.

⁴¹Ibid., 11f.; WA 6, 67.

⁴²Quoted by Köhler, I, 305ff.

⁴³Inst. IV.12.8, 5.

⁴⁴Wendel, 300.

⁴⁵Inst. IV.12.5.

⁴⁶Brecht, 61. Zw, Religione, 807, 877; ZwHS 10, 116, 228. On Bucer see Roth, 150ff. Maurer writes that for Lutheran church discipline the purity of the church was also a consideration. Excommunication was needed because the congregation communed as an act of confession, and the public sinner had to be excluded to maintain the purity of that witness. He does not, however, give references, and this sounds more typical of the Oberdeutsche (which includes Lutherans, of course) and Swiss (Maurer, 13).

⁴⁷Maurer, 12. Brecht, 60f. Bu, Seelsorge, 185f. Thompson, 186. Cal, Inst. IV.12.5. See ch. 3, sec. 4 above on confession, pp. 44ff.

⁴⁸Seelsorge, 183.

⁴⁹Ibid., 184-188.

⁵⁰Ziegenhain Zuchtordnung, MBDS 7, 269.

⁵¹Zw, Schlußreden, art. 32, 286. Cal, Inst. IV.12.6. Cf. Veit Dietrich's instructions to pastors on the matter of confession in his Agendbüchlein, where the margin reads "Offentlich sündler": "So er aber etwas unrechts wuste oder ein person im argwohn hette, da soll er seinem ambt nach solches unrecht strafen und davon abweisen, auch, wo es öffentliche laster sind, das sacrament ehe nit geben, denn er habe das bekentnus von ihm, es sei im leid, das er also gesündet hab, und er wolle es fortan nicht mer tun"(Sehling 11, 528f.). Cf. also Roth, 109f., on Luther and the controversy about public confession in Nürnberg which we mentioned in ch. 3, n. 111.

⁵²Both Bucer (Seelsorge, 179) and Calvin (Inst. IV.12.8) cited in this connection II Cor. 2.7: "...so you should rather turn to forgive and comfort him, or he may be overwhelmed by excessive sorrow."

⁵³Robert Stupperich, "Die Kirche in M. Bucers theologischer Entwicklung", Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte 35 (1938), 82n.

⁵⁴Seelsorge, 179f., 181.

⁵⁵Ziegenhain Zuchtordnung, MBDS 7, 265f, where n. 27 contains references for very similar passages from Oecolampadius.

⁵⁶Inst. IV.12.8.

⁵⁷See Bu, Seelsorge, 181f.

⁵⁸Ibid., 198-203.

⁵⁹27 Aug. 1554, Schwarz # 410 (CR # 1999). Zwingli also insisted that the church and not a private individual or a bishop was to ban someone from the fellowship of the Lord's table, partly as a reaction to arbitrary banning in the Catholic church. Schlußreden, art. 31, 276ff. Religione, 879; ZwHS 10, 230f.

⁶⁰Calvin's letter of 27 Aug. 1554.

⁶¹Seelsorge, 191.

⁶²Ibid., 193.

⁶³Thus we agree with Wendel (against Niesel) that "it is not correct, then, to suppose as some have done in recent times, that 'the ecclesiastical discipline was not intended to promote morality in the bosom of the Church'" (Wendel, 300).

⁶⁴Luise Klein comes to a similar conclusion in her dissertation. Referring to the literary genre of books on dying which she investigated she writes: "Der Begriff 'Erbauungsliteratur' trifft allerdings die Intention einen solchen Literaturgattung in dieser Zeit nicht....Die Anwendung des Begriffs 'Erbauungsliteratur' auf Literatur vor ca. 1600 ist nur sehr bedingt möglich, da zur Definition von 'Erbauungsliteratur' immer Begriffe wie Volkstümlichkeit oder Frömmigkeit in Abgrenzung gegen wissenschaftliche Theologie zu Hilfe genommen werden müssen....Eine pietistische Begrifflichkeit kann nur mit Vorbehalten auf reformatorische Literatur angewandt werden, zum mindesten darf dabei nicht eine Trennung von 'eigentlich wissenschaftlicher' und 'volkstümlich erbaulicher' Literatur entstehen" (2, text & n. 4).

⁶⁵LW 51, 70; WA 10³, 1f.

⁶⁶Lu, "Vom Abendmahl Christi, Bekenntnis" (1528), WA 26, 507f.

⁶⁷Sermon on All Souls' Day, 1522, WA 10³, 408f.

⁶⁸Lu, "Abendmahl Christi", WA 26, 508. Bu, "Summary seiner Predig", MBDS 1, 101. Cal, Inst. III.20.21, 27.

⁶⁹Inst. III.20.21, 27.

⁷⁰Inst. III.5.6. The Catholic doctrine on purgatory was first uniformly set out by the Council of Trent (as were so many dogmas), session 25; cf. Denzinger³⁵, # 1820ff. ("Fegfeuer", RGG³ II, 893f. (F. Schmidt-Clausing).)

⁷¹Lu, "Abendmahl Christi", WA 26, 508. Emanuel Hirsch, Hilfsbuch zum Studium der Dogmatik, 4th ed. (Berlin: 1964), gives two phases for Luther's view of purgatory. At first he did not deny its existence, but did not think it an article of faith because it was not founded upon scripture. Gradually he came to attack the idea completely. Cf. Lu, "Widerruf vom Fegfeuer" (1530), WA 30², 367ff. (Hirsch, 259f.) For Brenz, see Brecht, 49. Zw, Schlußreden, art. 57, 414-426. Cal, Inst. III.5.6-9.

⁷²Lu, "Abendmahl Christi", WA 26, 508. Bu, "Summary seiner Predig", MBDS 1, 115f. Cal, Inst. III.5.10.

⁷³Lu, "Abendmahl Christi", WA 26, 508: "des teuffels jar-markt"; sermon on 1st Sun. after Trinity, 1522, WA 10³, 195f. Bu, "Summary seiner Predigt", MBDS 1, 123f. Zw, Schlußreden, art. 60, 436f.

⁷⁴These reformers did not precisely agree in their speculations as to what happened to people after death, specifically what would happen to their souls. Witness the issue of psychopannychia ("soul-sleep"): Calvin published in 1534 or 1542 (Wendel considers the latter more likely) a book entitled De Psychopannychia, in which, according to Wendel, "he attacked certain Anabaptist teaching to the effect that the souls of the dead went to sleep at death and until the Last Judgment" (Wendel, 43, cf. also 287). De Psychopannychia is found in CR 33, CO 5, 165-232. Zwingli had attacked the idea in the Schlußreden, art. 57 (430ff.). Schmidt-Clausen says that Luther played with the idea between 1522 and 1530, when he finally gave up thoughts of an 'in-between' stage following death ("Fegfeuer", RGG³ II, 894). See as well Hirsch, 260ff. for texts from Luther, Melancthon, and Calvin. In his Censura to the 1549 Book of Common Prayer Bucer objected to the phrase "in the slepe of peace" (BCP, 222) because it could imply a sleep of the soul (Francis Proctor and Walter Howard Frere, A New History of the Book of Common Prayer (London: 1929), 74).

⁷⁵Lu, "Abendmahl Christi", WA 26, 508; sermon, 1st Sun. after Trinity, WA 10³, 195; sermon, All Souls', ibid., 409. Bu, "Summary seiner Predigt", MBDS 1, 124f. Zw, Schlußreden, art. 60, 436f.

⁷⁶Inst. III.5.10.

⁷⁷Thomas, 721. He quotes Lucien Febvre. Cf. Natalie Zemon Davis, "Some Tasks and Themes in the Study of Popular Religion" in: Trinkaus & Oberman, 329.

⁷⁸Thomas, 722. We shall return to this question of the relation of the living Protestants to their dead in our conclusions, ch. 10, briefly.

⁷⁹LW 51, 92f.; WA 10³, 49f.

⁸⁰For example, Leo Jud composed a brief work "Von der Frucht des Kreuzes und Leidens", printed in the appendix of his Vom Leiden, Sterben und Auferstehen des Herrn, ed. Oskar Farner (Zurich: 1955). The KOO of Brandenburg-Nürnberg 1533, Kurbrandenburg 1540, and Kurpfalz 1556 have sections of "Kreuz und Leiden" (see ch. 5 below, n. 33). See also Bu, Seelsorge, 211: "das creutz und trübsal".

⁸¹Lu, "Das Schöne Confitemini" (Ps. 118) (1530), WA 31¹, 94.

⁸²Ibid., 147ff.

⁸³Franz, Huberinus, 8. Cf. Paul Althaus, Der Friedhof unserer Väter, 4th ed. (Gütersloh: 1948), 14.

⁸⁴Klein, ch. 3, where she handles esp. W. Linck, Venatorius, Osiander, Brenz, Schwenckfeld, and Rhegius.

⁸⁵On John 5.24 & 11.25, Calvin: Commentaries and Letters, ed. Joseph Haroutunian (London: 1958), 196, 197.

⁸⁶Cf. Thomas N. Tentler, The Problem of Anxiety and the Problem of Death in Luther, Calvin and Erasmus, typed diss., Harvard, Cambridge, Mass., 1961, 95ff., 70.

⁸⁷Lu, "Ein missive allen den, so...verfolgung leiden" (1522), LW 43, 63; WA 10², 55.

⁸⁸Thomas Venatorius, Ein kurtz underricht den sterbenden menschen gantz tröstlich (Nürnberg: 1527): "Und solchs (ewigen) leben ist nit sichtparlich mit leiblichen augen, es hats got der welt verborgen, aber die rechtglaubigen sehen es mit den augen des glaubens" (Aiii a). In 1529 Luther wrote a foreword to this book (WA 30², 79f.) of the preacher in Nürnberg's Neuen Spital. Venatorius wrote the little book in response to a request by one of the chaplains working at the Spital. For more information on Venatorius (orig., it seems, Gechauf) see the articles by Th. Kolde, Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, 3rd ed., XX, 489ff; Math. Simon, RGG³ VI, 1252; P. Tschacker, Allegemeine Deutsche Biographie XXXIX, 599; Kolde in Beiträge zur bayerischen Kirchengeschichte XIII (Erlangen: 1907), 97-151, 157-194; J.C.E. Schwarz, ThStKr 23(1850), 79-142.

⁸⁹Calvin on John 10.28: "Our own faith is unfirm and we ourselves tend greatly to waver. But God who has taken our salvation into his hands is mighty enough to scatter all the weapons of our foes with one puff of his breath. The most important thing we can do is to turn our eyes to this, if we are not to be overcome by the fear of temptations" (Commentaries and Letters, 198).

⁹⁰Venatorius: "Also sichstu lieber brüder, das unter disem tod noch ein leben verborgen ist" (Aiii a).

⁹¹Sermon on the man born blind (John 9), 1518, LW 51, 37ff.; WA 1, 268ff. Thomas Müntzer, in a similar vein, included the following in his Order for Allstedt: "Daruber uns nit anders gebricht, dann das wir unser blintheit nit erkennen wollen noch vornemen, wann uns Got in die hochste ehre durch schande setzt, in des geists gesuntheit durch krankheit des leybs etc." (Thomas Müntzer, Schriften und Briefe, ed. Günther Franz (Gütersloh: 1968), 211).

⁹²Appel, 109. See Lu, "Sermon vom Leiden und Kreuz" (16. April 1530): "Our suffering and cross should never be so exalted that we think we can be saved by it or earn the least merit through it" (LW 51, 198; WA 32, 29).

⁹³Klein, 22, 75ff.

⁹⁴So Leo Jud: "Siehe, o gläubiger Diener, wie dein Vorgänger (Christus) in all seiner Züchtigung und angstvollen Not milde und geduldig bleibt und wie aus seinem Munde kein bitteres Wort gehört wird. Sein Gebet und seine Klage richtet er zu seinem himmlischen Vater, spricht keinen andern Namen aus als den Gottes allein.... So sollen auch wir es machen..." (Vom Leiden...des Herrn, 172). Cf.

Lu, "Operationes in Psalmos 1519-1521", WA 5, 602.

⁹⁵Dietrich, "Wie man die scheidung unsers lieben Herrn Christi bedencken sol", in: Etliche Schrifften für den gemeinē man..., ed. Oskar Reichmann (Assen: 1972), 107f.

⁹⁶Klein, 71ff.

⁹⁷"Tröstung für eine Person in hohen Anfechtungen", WA 7, 785; LW 42, 183. See "Eyn Sermon von der bereytung zum sterben" (1519), WA 2, 691f., on the example of the saints.

⁹⁸On John 12.27, Commentaries and Letters, 163.

⁹⁹Appel, 108f. Lu, "Sermon v. Leiden": "Then what is needed is to hold fast and submit oneself to it, as I have said, namely, that one know that we must suffer, in order that we may thus be conformed to Christ, and that it cannot be otherwise..." (LW 51, 199; WA 32, 29). Cf. Martin Elze, "Das Verständnis der Passion Jesu im ausgehenden Mittelalter und bei Luther", in: Heinz Liebing and Klaus Scholder, ed., Geist und Geschichte der Reformation (Berlin: 1966), 143ff.

¹⁰⁰Appel, 109 n. 4: "Natürlich kennt auch Luther aktive Nachfolge Christi als Richte für den Weg des Christen; aber diese 'Tugend' ist, sowenig wie eine andre, entscheidende Nothilfe."

¹⁰¹Klein, 73. For Brenz as a variation of Lutheran thought see Brecht's discussion of him, the word, Anfechtung and death (Brecht, 130-134, 228f., 232). According to Brecht, Brenz set the victory over temptation and death alongside the forgiveness of sin rather than subsuming them under the latter. The word, however, remained the only consolation, just as for Luther.

¹⁰²Klein mentions that in the "osiandrischen" controversy Melancthon charged that Osiander "could not comfort those in temptation because he had nothing to say about the forgiveness of sins" (78).

¹⁰³Calvin's Commentaries, ed. David W. Torrance and Thomas F. Torrance, The Second Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians, trans. T.A. Smail (Edinburgh: 1964), 12f. Here again are the questions of law and gospel and the function of the former, which the Protestant reformers answered variously. See Brecht on Brenz, for example (132f., 220). However, they agreed that suffering was necessary, and that to undergo it and to be freed from it were both due to acts of God, not of the sufferer. Cf. Lu's sermon on cross and suffering, WA 32, 36 & 29; LW 51, 206 & 198. Also John von Rohr, "Medieval Consolation and the Young Luther's Despair", in: Franklin H. Littell, ed., Reformation Studies (Richmond, Va.: 1962), 72.

¹⁰⁴Clebsch & Jaekle, exhibit 10: "The Fifth (Temptation) that tempteth and grieveth most carnal men and secular men, that be in overmuch occupation, and business outward about temporal things; that is their wives, their children, their carnal friends, and their wordly riches, and other things that they have loved inordinately before" (184).

¹⁰⁵Venatorius, Underricht: "...das er in dise welt kumen sey, nit das er darinn bleiben sol (denn das were im elend bebliben)" (Aii a); "Also hat auch diß unser zeytlich leben nichts anders dann angst, nott unn sterben" (Aiii a). See ch. 6, sec. 22, below.

¹⁰⁶Ibid.: "Diewyl nu nit Christlich ist, umb die gestorbnen fast oder untröstlicher weiß traurikeit zutragen müß von nöten auch unchristlich seyn nit begeren mit Sant Pauls, oder auffs wenigst nit wöllen entledigt werden von disem süntlichen leib, auff das der mensch gantz in gottes reich geführt, und aller sünden ledig werde. Dann wer in dem Herren den tod überwindet, oder seligklich entschläfft, wie sant Paulus sagt, der ist gerechtfertigt von den sünden, wie wir dann alle tag begeren, das gottes name volkumen in uns geheyligt werde, das seyn reich in uns kumb, und der sünden reych gantz verderbt werd. Welchs dann nit reychlicher kummen kan oder mag, dann so wir sterben. Dann am todt beth greyfft Got erst recht an unsern alten Adam, wiewol er zuvor solchs angefangen hat in der tauff, aber in dem tod volstreckt er erst sein gnadenreichen angriff an uns" (A b). "So nun Gott mit dir ist, warumb soltestu dir dann förchten auff disem wege? Warumb woltestu den tod förchten dieweil er dir die thür zum rechten leben aufthüt? Laß ein unglaubigen den tod förchten, der vom zeitlichen tod zu dem ewigen tod hingehet"(Aiiii a). Cf. Cal, Inst. III.9.

¹⁰⁷Dietrich, "Simeons predig, wie man in todtes nöten sich Christlich schicken soll", in: Etliche Schrifften, 164.

¹⁰⁸Inst. I.17.11.

¹⁰⁹Commentaries and Letters, 284. Cf. Inst. I.17.6-11.

¹¹⁰"Tröstung", LW 42, 183f.; WA 7, 787.

¹¹¹"Die Nürnberger 23 Lehrartikel", Sehling XI, 129. See the Brandenburg-Nürnberg KO 1533, Sehling XI, 161. Also Lu, sermon on the blind man, WA 1, 271f.; LW 51, 40; and "Auslegung deutsch des Vateruners" (1519): "God has allotted us much tribulation in this world, and, at the same time, offered us no other consolation than his holy Word" (LW 42, 50f.; WA 2, 106). Brenz, Bericht, Wie man sich in sterbenden Leuffen der Pestilentz Christlich halten soll (Tübingen: 1565): "Hierauff, da er die Pestilentz oder andere Plagen züschickt, ob es wol ein zornigen, unväterlichen Anplick hat, jedoch so gemeinet er es eigentlich, gwißlich, und endtlich mit keiner Ungnad, sonder wil dardurch entweder die unbüßfertigen zur Büß auffwecken, oder die büßfertigen versuchen und probieren, wie sie sich in irem Glauben, vor Gott, und mit irer Liebe gegen dem Nächsten halten wöllen"(28). Bu, "Summary seiner Predig", MBDS 1, 95, 97. Zw, Religiöne, 842f.; ZWHS 10, 170ff. Bullinger, 3rd sermon 3rd "Decade", in: Walter Hollweg, Heinrich Bullingers Hausbuch (Neukirchen: 1956), 400; and his "Von rechter Hilfe und Errettung in Nöten" (1552) in: Robert Stupperich, ed., Reformatorisches Verkündigung und Lebensordnung (Bremen: 1963), 402f. See ch. 5, sec. 4, below.

¹¹²Lu, "Auslegung d. Vateruners", on the 4th petition, LW 42, 51; WA 2, 107.

¹¹³This kind of problem for John Knox and for some Puritans is mentioned by David E. Stannard, "Death and Dying in Puritan New England", American Historical Review 78 (1973), 1317, though we would not without qualification accept his comments on the ars moriendi and Knox. For the problem of complacency as a temptation in the ars moriendi see Clebsch & Jaekle, 183f.

¹¹⁴It comes, wrote Luther, "from God or by some godly pastor or otherwise through the word of godly Christians" ("Schöne Confitemini", WA 31¹, 94f.).

¹¹⁵Caspar Huberinus, "Wie man den sterbenden trösten und im zusprechen solle" (1529), in: Franz, Huberinus, 229.

III. THE TAPESTRY OF PRACTICE

¹Richter II, Nr. 81. Cf., for example, James K. Cameron, "The Cologne Reformation and the Church of Scotland", Journal of Ecclesiastical History 30 (1979), 39-64, who adduces evidence for the influence of the Reformation on the Scottish Book of Discipline, and also writes: "It is well known to those who have studied the history of the Book of Common Prayer that it was in part strongly influenced by the liturgical portion of Hermann's Consultation", the English translation of the Reformation, published in 1547 (42).

²Konrad Sam's Handbüchlein (1531) supplemented the Order which was made for Ulm in that year. See below, n. 138.

³Klaus, 402ff.

⁴Amberg: Sehling XIII, Nr. II 1 & 2. Dinkelsbühl "Bericht": Sehling XII, Nr. II.9.

⁵See the introductions for Lindau and Memmingen in Sehling XII, 182-185 (Lindau), 227-232 (Memmingen).

⁶Saxony 1539: Sehling I; Kurbrandenburg 1540: Sehling III; Mecklenburg 1552: Sehling V.

⁷Yelverton, Manual. This was, according to Frieder Schulz, "die erste vollständige Kasualagende der Reformation" ("Die evangelische Begräbnisgebete des 16. un 17. Jahrhunderts", Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie 11 (1966), 6). Petri evidently had direct connections with Nürnberg (Sehling 11, 22).

⁸Pullain, Liturgia sacra (1554): Richter II; à Lasco, Forma ac ratio (1550; Dutch trans. by Micronius, 1554; 1565): Sehling VII¹; The Form of Prayers: William D. Maxwell, John Knox's Genevan Service Book 1556 (Edinburgh/London: 1931).

The complex and not entirely clear relationship between the translation of Micronius and the original is discussed in Sehling VII¹, 351f. and Anhang, §4, 571-576. (§1-3, 553-571, concern connections of other Orders and liturgies, including ones from Zurich, Strasbourg, and Geneva, with à Lasco's London Order.) Micronius evidently sometimes shortened, sometimes elaborated or extended the Forma ac ratio, but it is not known precisely where or how.

Further, the Latin form of the latter is known only in the version published in 1555 in Frankfurt, after à Lasco's time in London, and he had added to his Order while in Germany (571). Martin Micronius' Dutch translation was made and published in 1554; it was probably published in Emden, where Dutch refugees went in that year from London. A German translation then appeared in Heidelberg in 1565 (351). For simplicity's sake we refer to this translation of Micronius' work, given in Sehling, as à Lasco's Order for the Strangers' Congregation in London or as Micronius' translation of the Forma ac ratio. Whether referred to as the Forma itself or as a translation, the same work is meant, which is actually a translation of the translation. "Im ganzen", the opinion "daß man, wenn auch miteinigem Vorbehalt, in den Ordinancien Microns die ursprüngliche Rezension der Londoner Formulare und eine Widerspiegelung der KO der niederländischen Flüchtlings-gemeinde sehen darf", is acknowledged by the Sehling editors as right (572).

⁹Müntzer in Sehling I; also: Schriften und Briefe, ed. Günther Franz (Gütersloh: 1968). Cf. bibliography for the English Prayerbook (BCP).

¹⁰Sehling XII, 21ff.

¹¹Sehling XI, 21f. This Order was used, according to the editors, additionally in small parishes in the lands of various knights, in the imperial cities of Weissenburg (1533), Dinkelsbühl (1534), Windsheim (1535), Regensburg (1542), Donauwörth (1545), and Ravensburg (1546), and in the Grafschaft Öttingen (1538), Landgrafschaft Henneberg (1544), Grafschaft Hohenlohe and other areas (listed in Sehling). In areas of Saxony and in the Grafschaft Nassau-Saarbrücken it was also used, and its influence reached even further. It was used in composing the following Orders among others: Württemberg 1536, Kurbrandenburg 1540, Pfalz-Neuburg 1542, Calenberg-Göttingen 1542, Cologne 1543, Herrschaft Waldeck 1556. Through Dietrich's Agendbüchlein it influenced even more, especially in Franken. (Sehling XI, 122f.)

¹²Lu, WA TR 2, # 2574, 528.

¹³Sehling VII¹, 665.

¹⁴Sehling XIII, 410.

¹⁵"Ob man vor dem Sterben fliehen möge" (1527), LW 43, 135; WA 23, 373.

¹⁶Richter I, 350; Paul Jacobs, ed., Reformierte Bekenntnisschriften und Kirchenordnungen in deutscher Übersetzung (Neukirchen: 1949), 97; Wilhelm Niesel, ed., Bekenntnisschriften und Kirchenordnungen der nach Gottes Wort reformierten Kirche, 3rd ed. (Zollikon-Zürich: 1948), 59.

¹⁷Richter II, 273f.

¹⁸BCP 1549: 262/1552: 419. The distrust which arose in matters of the will is reflected in the Reformationsartikel of Bern from 7 April 1525: "Zum 24.: ist unser meinung, wann jemand, es sye man oder wib, in kranckheit oder todesnöten lit, dass kein geistliche person, weder priester, münch, nunnen, beginen noch

ander zü dem krancken komment, durch testament oder ordnung inen derselben kranken person güt zü verordnen oder zü verschaffen anziehen oder reitzen söllent, ane bysin derselben person rechten erben; ob aber der kranck von eigener bewegnuss und willen, testament und gemächt ordnen und setzen wellte, das söll geschäichen von drien leyschen mannspersonen, oder nach bruch und gewonheit eins jeden orts und ends, jedermann sin recht vorbehalten"(Rudolf Steck and G. Tobler, ed., Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Berner-Reformation, 1521-1532 (Bern: 1923), # 610, 193.

The Protestant reformers were aware of the importance of setting one's temporal affairs in order. Veit Dietrich gave the following guidance: "Denn das ein Christ so vil ihm müglich, durch ein Testament, des zeytlichen guts halben, unfried nach seinem todt verhütten, Armer leut gedenden, unnd sonderlich dazu helfen sol, das die kirchen statlicher versorget werden, auff das mit der zeyt nicht mangel an tüglichen personen fürfalle, weyl niemandt mehr zu unterhaltung der kirchen diener etwas geben will. Solches heyst wol auch zum todt und sterben sich schicken. Aber es ist doch nur ein schicken, das man gegen den leut thun muß, unnd zu vergebung der sünden, unnd ewigen leben nicht hilfft" ("Simeons predig", in: Etliche Schrifften, 178). Bullinger devoted several pages of his Bericht der krancken. Wie man by den krancken und sterbenden menschen handeln...solle (Zurich: 1553) to riches and poverty, including the making of wills. There was biblical support for the latter activity, but once it was done, wrote Bullinger, one should trouble oneself no further with earthly matters when dying. He also suggested remembering the poor--especially if some of one's wealth were ill-gotten (ch. V, Bvi b-C a).

¹⁹ Sehling III, 81. Kurbrandenburg 1540 contains a feature which does not seem to have found an echo in the southern German Orders, not even in Pfalz-Neuburg 1543 which follows it so closely at other points. This was a special arrangement to provide able pastors for the sick. In the large towns which could afford it, one or more especially skilled priests were to be supported as priests only for the sick, rich or poor. The provision of such priests and, during plague, of particular people chosen by the town council or the rulers to take care of the sick, was expressed as being to avoid having still Catholic monks do this and lead the people into superstition (Sehling III, 76f.).

²⁰ Sehling XI, 139.

²¹ Richter II, 140; Große KO, xciii a.

²² Sehling XII, 159.

²³ Sehling XI, 139.

²⁴ Amberg: Sehling XIII, 293. Brand.-Nürn.: Sehling XI, 199.

²⁵ Sehling 12, 315.

²⁶ Richter II, 273.

²⁷ Wilhelm Pauck, The Heritage of the Reformation, rev. ed. (Glencoe, Ill.: 1961), 131.

²⁸Sehling III, 76. Pfalz-Neuburg: Sehling XIII, 85. Though the Strasbourg Orders give no guidance here, Bucer in his "Formula brevis" used this argument as well and declared: "Since, then, we are bound to give account to the Lord for all his sheep that we neglect and abandon to destruction, it is our duty when we learn of sickness, not to wait until we are summoned. We should offer our ministry even though not called for, and discharge it as faithfully as we can" (Common Places, 436).

²⁹Niesel, 59.

³⁰Richter II, 272, 273.

³¹For example, Rothenburg ob der Tauber (Sehling XI, 594) and the Zurich Praedicantenordnung 1532 (Richter I, 171). Cf. Lavater's De ritibus...ecclesiae Tigurinae: "Quia satan nunquam nobis magis insidiatur, quam si calamitates nos premunt, & hora fatalis imminet..." (25 b).

³²Sehling XI, 522. Shouting in the ear does seem to have been not unusual. Luther mentioned its inadequacy, in another sense, at the beginning of his sermon on Invocavit, 1522 (see ch. 4, p. 73 n. 65).

³³Brand.-Nürn. 1533: Sehling XI, 160-165; Kurbrandburg 1540 (whose section was taken from Brand.-Nürn. 1533): Sehling III, 50; Kurpfalz 1556: Sehling XIV, 204ff.

³⁴BCP: 261, 267/418f. 422.

³⁵Yelverton, Manual, 76, 77. As a contrast, here is another of the Basel minister Kurt Marti's Leichenreden:

dem herrn unserem gott
hat es ganz und gar nicht gefallen
daß gustav e. lips
durch einen verkehrsunfall starb

erstens war er zu jung
zweitens seiner frau ein zärtlicher mann
drittens zwei kindern ein lustiger vater
viertens den freunden ein guter freund
fünftens erfüllt von vielen ideen

was soll jetzt ohne ihn werden?
was ist seine frau ohne ihn?
wer spielt mit den kindern?
wer ersetzt einen freund?
wer hat die neuen ideen?

dem herrn unserem gott
hat es ganz und gar nicht gefallen
daß einige von euch dachten
es habe ihm solches gefallen

im namen dessen der tote erweckte
im namen des toten der auferstand:
wir protestieren gegen den tod von gustav e. lips

Marti cites Christoph Blumhardt the Younger: "Die Resignation,

wie sie viele Christen glauben im Namen Gottes haben zu müssen unter der Last der Übel, ist nicht christlich. Ich bin deswegen nicht ganz einverstanden mit dem Spruch, den man Kranken oft ins Zimmer hängt: 'Ich muß leiden, ich kann leiden, ich darf leiden, ich will leiden.' Das ist nicht wahr, - ich will nicht! das ist eine verzerrte Geschichte. Das hätte der Heiland nie gesagt, - er sagt nur: 'Ich ergebe mich', aber es ist ein stiller Protest darin" (20).

³⁶BCP: 261/418.

³⁷Sehling VII, 665.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Sehling XI, 595. A similar image is used in the BCP: 261/418.

⁴⁰Sehling XI, 511ff.

⁴¹Ibid., 515.

⁴²La Forme des Prieres: CR XXXIV, CO VI 209f. Forma ac ratio (Micronius' trans.): Sehling VII¹, 665. De ritibus... eccl. Tigur., 25 b: "...ministri afflictos & aegrotantes accedunt, ut eos ad veram poenitentiam & patientiam adhortentur, & verbo dei erigant."

⁴³Sehling XII, 210 (u-u). In comparing Luther and Wenzeslaus Link and the latter's use of the catechism for structuring consolation of the sick (in Wie man Christenlich die krancken trösten müge, durchs vater unser, Zehen gebot, unnd Artickel des glaubens, samt nützung der Sacrament, darauff das gantz Christliche wesen stehet, 1529), Luise Klein comments: "Link versucht das Paradox des Glaubens, das Luther in der Beziehung der drei Katechismusstücke erklärt, sich als Prozeß des Glaubens vorzustellen. Erst Demütigung, dann Tröstung. Die Sündenerkenntnis ist als seelsorgerliches Mittel in einer Sterbeschrift nur möglich, wenn Sünde und Gnade als pädagogisch bestimmtes Nacheinander gedacht sind, nicht aber als gleichzeitig" (99). Here is a question concerning Luther's simul justus et peccator: is it suitable as comfort for the dying?

⁴⁴Yelverton, Manual, 78f.

⁴⁵Sehling III, 76 and Sehling XIII, 85.

⁴⁶Sehling XI, 509: "Wolan so höre nun, wie ein barmherzigen Gott du habest!"

⁴⁷Richter II, 140; Große KO, xciiii a.

⁴⁸Sehling XI, 595.

⁴⁹Editions from 1545 on. Ibid., 522.

⁵⁰See above, 45. Hubert writes that in the medieval Strasbourg liturgy for the sick the "Offene Beicht" was used, in the vernacular. (Friedrich Hubert, Die Strassburger liturgischen Ordnungen im Zeitalter der Reformation (Göttingen: 1900), LXXXI.)

⁵¹Richter I, 269. The Vermahnung was a common feature of Protestant communion liturgies, at least in southern Germany and Switzerland.

⁵²Ibid. Hohenlohe 1553 also uses the general confession before absolution during visits to the sick. Forms were for both those of the regular Sunday service from the "formular Caspari Huberini fur die gemaine pfarher, so sonst nichts beßers haben oder wißen" (Sehling XV, 73).

⁵³Yelverton, Manual, 79.

⁵⁴See above, 41ff. The reformers found more than psychological reasons for approving the possibility of private confession, of course, but theological truths can also be psychological ones.

⁵⁵Bericht der Krancken, Dvii a+b: "Darumb bedenck sich ein yetlicher krancker wie er die Bycht siner sünden Gott sinem Herren und vatter recht thüge. Ob aber yemants den diener des worts oder sust einen wolberichten brüder in Gotts wort radtsfragen wölte, und im dero gstalt sin sünd unnd mißthaat offnete, lassend wir beschähen, so ferr das es fry sye, kein zwang und werck des ablegens daruß werde." To prevent possible misunderstanding Bullinger continued: "Kein andere Absolution aber söllend die glöubigen erkennen, dann die gnadrych predig des heiligen Evangeliums von Jesu Christo dem sun Gottes....Unnd der waar gloub in Jesum Christum stellt allein die unrüwig gewüßne zefriden unnd versicheret den menschen des heils."

⁵⁶Rothenburg: Sehling XI, 596. Strasbourg: Hubert, 124. Bucer enlarged upon this point in his work on visiting the sick: "Fifthly, following such admonition and exhortation we should question the sick person if he acknowledges and believes all he has heard and if he has kept it all or not, and we ought to offer him a chance to receive instruction and comfort in private. But whether he requests this or not, we must give careful attention to ascertaining each individual's faith and knowledge of Christ, whether they are well-instructed and devout or untaught and lacking Christian experience, whether prior to that time they belonged to the Church's communion or not, whether they neglected that communion out of ignorance and carnal carelessness, or out of a marked contempt for God and his Church or hatred of his ministers, or finally because of entanglement with the sects and false doctrine. Also we must ask whether they have been forbidden to partake of the sacraments, and if so by whom, and whether it was done in the name of the whole Church or at least through particular ministers. And then our treatment of them must be dictated by the kind of persons we discover them to be.

If we find them to be well-instructed and devout Christians who have faithfully honoured the communion of Christ, we should therefore mostly comfort them, and encourage the others present to emulate their example. But in addition, whether they confess privately or not, they should be urged, after being counselled and comforted, to make a public confession and request for absolution before all present. The recital of their confession

should come first, and afterwards the imparting of absolution." (Formula brevis, Common Places, 434.) In this work Bucer gave a long form for the public confession (ibid., 437-440). If others planned to receive the sacrament with the sick person, "a public confession must be read jointly for them also and absolution imparted" (442), Bucer directed.

⁵⁷Form und gestalt wie der kinder tauff, Des herren Nachtmal, und der Kranckenheymſüchung, jetz zü Basel von etlichen Predicanten gehalten werden (s.l.: 1526), Cvii a+b: "Darumb so vil wir des leybs schwacheit meer empfinden, gebürt sich, das wir uns mer bereiten, und alle ding verordnen, Hierumb lieber N. wa dir etwas schwerlichs an deyner conscientz angelegen wer, das du begerst mir zü eröffnen, magstu das zü vorhyn thün, wöllen wir dann mit einander gott anruffen, und nach Christenlicher ordnung uns halten.

Das volck sol abtreten, und so dem Krancken gnüg ist geschehen, widerumb berüfft werden.

Offen Beycht.

Wolan, damit wir gott dester fleissiger anruffen, so wöllen wir unser schuld zü voran bekennen.

O Almächtiger gott und hymelschlicher vatter, wir armen ellenden sündler bekennen uns, das wir gesündt haben, von unser kindtheit biß auff die stund wider deyn gebot, in bösen gedancken, Worten, Willen und Wercken, die wir nit erzelen künden, darumb wir nit würdig deyn kinder genant zü werden, oder unser augen auffzüheben in hymel. Ach gott und vatter, das wir dich nye erzürnet hetten. Wir bitten dich, wöllest uns durch deyner barmhertzigkeit, und eere deines namens Willen, mit verzeyhung unser sünd, uns mit gnaden auffnemen."

And Dv a+b:

"Ermanung.

Geliebter brüder, du hast gehört, wie Gott seinen eyngelbornen sun nicht geschonet, Sonder in für uns in todt geben, durch wöliches leyden, also wöllest dich stercken, das du auch frey willig, wa Gott über dich gebieten wurde, den todt wöllest annemen, und wie Christus vorhyn gethon, wöllest verseyhen allen die wider dich gethon, und Gott für sy bitten, und noch vil mer bitten, das man auch dir verzeyhen wölle, wa du yemandt mit Worten oder tathen, oder mit bösem Exempel beleydiget hast, Und es sey dir leyd, mit fürsatz wa Gott dir gesundtheit wider verleihe, wöllest gantz nach dem wort Christi als eyn güter Christ, zü güte dem nechsten leben, des zü warzeichen so begerst du dich zü vereinigen mit allen Christen, in empfahung der hochwirdigen Sacramenten. Ja."

Bucer included at the end of his form for confession in his work on visitation of the sick the following paragraph:

"I also pardon completely all who have ever offended against me, and I too beg pardon of all against whom I have ever offended. And if it should please the Lord to grant me still to remain among the living, I desire to reform myself in every respect and live an upright life, and I pray the Lord to increase and confirm my penitence and sorrow for my sins and my intention of amendment. And I ask all of you also faithfully to beseech and call upon

the Lord with me for the obtaining of these blessings'" (Formula brevis, Common Places, 440).

Cf. Dietrich's Agendbüchlein as quoted above, n. 46. Here, too, the intention to amend one's life if opportunity be given is important.

⁵⁸BCP, 262 & 419. Absolution in 1549 was according to a form used "in all pryvate confessions", whereas 1552 offered a special form of absolution at this point.

⁵⁹Ibid., 268, 266/423, 420, 418f.

⁶⁰Sehling XI, 520.

⁶¹Sehling VIII, 124, 129. Cf. Bucer (Formula brevis), who would not have had such people absolved unless they repented and were in danger of dying (Common Places, 434f.). However, both of these conditions were to be charitably judged (436).

For the phrase "pearls before swine" in this connection: Lu, "Ob man...fliehen möge", WA 23, 371; LW 43, 134; and Cal, letter of May 1540 to Farel, Schwarz # 48 (CR # 218).

⁶²Niesel, 59 and CR XXXIV, CO VI, 209f.; Richter I, 171.

⁶³Yelverton, Manual, 79, 81.

⁶⁴Sehling XII, 104: "...damit ir nun solchis dest getröster und sicherer tuon müget, so verkündige ich euch als verordneter diener unsers Herren Jesu Christi die vergebung aller euer sünden im namen des Vaters, des Suns und des Hailigen Gaists. Amen. Euch geschech nun, wie ir glaubt!" The 1555 Forma for baptism, communion, and comforting the sick in Augsburg is a Lutheran Order, or, better, a "Lutheranized" version of the previous Forma. The Lutherization included the insertion of communion of the sick, which the Formae of 1537 and 1545 had not contained. However, the influence in this case came evidently more from Saxony than from Nürnberg. (Sehling XII, 28f.)

A copy of Olavus Petri's 1531 Swedish Mass was not available in order to compare the absolution there with the one for the sickroom and to see whether it includes this clause about belief. Petri used the German Mass of the Neuen Spital of Nürnberg, composed by Döber, as a guide, and this mass has the clause in the absolution (Julius Smend, Die evangelischen deutschen Messen bis zu Luthers Deutscher Messe (orig. Göttingen: 1896; repr. Nieuwkoop: 1967), 163). It appears as well in the first of two forms for the absolution in the regular Sunday mass in Brandenburg-Nürnberg 1533 (Sehling XII, 104n; Richter I, 204). Here it seems that the issue of a "conditional absolution" might be raised (see ch. 3, n. 103, p. 292).

⁶⁵Sehling XI, 509: "Glaubstu solches, so entbind ich dich im namen des Vaters, des Suns und Heiligen Geistes von allen deinen sünden und zweifele ja nit an dem, das ich dir jetzund an Gotes stat zusage...."

⁶⁶Richter II, 140; Große KO, xciii a.

⁶⁷Richter II, 136; Große KO, lxx a. Kassel 1539 has a preparatory service the day before communion (MBDS 7, 280; see above

293). Hermann von Wied's Reformation for Cologne of 1543 also calls for a separate service on the evening before the congregational communion for confession (Cameron, 46). Kurpfalz 1556 has, like Württemberg, the evening service for private and public confession (Sehling XIV, 144f.) as well as the suggested separation of confession and absolution and the communion of the sick (*ibid.*, 169). Perhaps Orders such as Baden 1556, which is virtually a copy of this Württemberg Order, copied this aspect as well.

⁶⁸Formula brevis, Common Places, 437. Bucer's absolution, embedded in an exhortation, is as follows:

"My brother (or sister), trust in the Lord and receive with steadfast faith the glorious promise spoken by the Lord to his beloved apostles and in their person to his whole Church. 'If you forgive the sins of any, they are forgiven; and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven'. And since you have confessed your sins to God and to his Church represented by us, and have also besought his grace through Christ the Lord and the ministry of the Church for the remission of your sins, and furthermore intend to pardon all others, to commit yourself to the Lord's will, and to bear with Christian patience the chastisement of this sickness so long as the Lord shall please, on behalf of the Christian Church as charged by the Lord I declare you free and released from all your sins. I assure you of all his grace and comfort, his effectual help and eternal life, in the name of God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Amen (to be said by all)" (442).

⁶⁹Kassel: MBDS 7, 295: "der Absolution der Kirchen".
Ziegenhain: MBDS 7, 273: "die absolution von sünden, die der Herr der Kirchen befohlen".

⁷⁰Sehling VIII, 327.

⁷¹Form und gestalt, Cvii b-Cviii a:

"Absolution.

Es wurd't sich unser erbarmen der Almächtig Gott, der uns sein sun zü eynem gewissen underpfandt gesandt hat in dise welt, der als das unschuldig lemlein geopffert wurd, unser sünd trüg, und für sy gnüg thät, in wölchen wer do glaubt, wirdt mit dem Schächer an dem creütz erlangen, nit allein verzeyhung aller sünd, auch den yngang in das leben. In sölichem glauben sprich ich dich lieber brüder, mit allen den die hie gegenwürtig, und warlich glaubent durch krafft götlicher verheissung ledig und loß von allen sünden, im namen des vatters, und des suns, und des heiligen geists, Amen." The public absolution in the communion liturgy (Biii b+Biiii a) has: "verzeyhung und das ewige leben", instead of: "wirdt mit dem Schächer...yngang in das leben", and: "durch krafft sölich's glauben", rather than: "durch krafft götlicher verheissung". The inclusion of others is omitted in the usual absolution of the congregation.

⁷²Yelverton, Manual, 85f.

⁷³*Ibid.*, 43 n. 3. In his book An Archbishop of the Reformation (London: 1958) Yelverton remains by his interpretation, against the opinion of Andrén (74). To his argument that the narrative of the

institution was not used as a consecration he adds that Laurentius Petri in his Kyrkieordninghen (composed 1561, published 1571) added a consecration in a form "which in all other cases supplements but does not duplicate the forms in the Manual" of Olavus (Archbishop, 74). He suggests that Olavus Petri perhaps hesitated to make a sudden break with tradition. Consecration in the house was demanded by Laurentius Petri in the Vadstena Articles of 1552, as well as in the Order composed some years later (ibid., 74ff.). Brilioth agrees that Olavus Petri probably assumed that the reserved sacrament was used in the liturgy of the Handbook of 1529 (Brilioth, 239f.).

⁷⁴Smend, 265, 174. The source is the "Verzeichnus der geenderten Mißbreuch und Ceremonien, so in kraft das worts gottis zu Nürnberg abgestellt und gebessert seyen", which was composed in the 1520's. 1528 KO: Sehling XI, 138.

⁷⁵Brilioth writes about Lutheran communion of the sick: "There was also much inconsistency in thought and in practice. On the one hand, in many places scrupulous care was taken over the remains of the sacred elements; on the other, the principle of extra usum nullum sacramentum, which was asserted by Luther, and still more definitely by his disciples, excluded the reservation of the sacrament, and gave rise to the specially Lutheran usage of a celebration in the sickroom" (143). Such celebration was also found in churches not usually termed "Lutheran", as we shall see in this section.

⁷⁶Sehling III, 77, 79f. Zeeden, 27.

⁷⁷Sehling III, 79f.

⁷⁸Sehling XIII, 84.

⁷⁹Sehling III, 77. Charles Harris, "The Communion of the Sick, Viaticum, and Reservation", in: W.K. Lowther Clarke, ed., Liturgy and Worship (London: 1932), assumes the consecrated elements are reserved for the purpose on the altar and administered with brief devotions (574). The Order merely reads: If he cannot come to the common service, "so were es denn bequem, das im solches in sonderheit in der kirchen zu bequemer zeit gereicht würde."

⁸⁰BCP, 266 & 422.

⁸¹Sehling III, 77.

⁸²Richter I, 269. Different reformers would no doubt have offered differing definitions of just what a Winkelmesse was in actuality, as is often the case with terms of abuse.

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴Richter II, 140. The Swedish Order of Laurentius Petri includes these points as well. Yelverton says that it was influenced by Württemberg 1553 (and Brandenburg-Nürnberg 1533) in the section on visitation of the sick (Archbishop, 75, 12).

⁸⁵Richter II, 158. The liturgy stems from the usage of the

French-speaking congregation in Strasbourg under Valérand Pullain (or Poullain) ("Poullain", RGG³ V, 479 (K. Bauer/ O. Weber)).

⁸⁶Sehling VIII, 46. Luther advised that this Order, also called the Homburger KO, not be printed and put into effect. Philipp of Hessen followed this counsel, so the Reformatio never was binding as church law (ibid., 12f.).

⁸⁷BCP, 266 (cf. 422). The 1559 BCP of Elizabeth also had no provision for reservation. Her Latin Prayerbook (1560), however, did. The 1661 edition followed the 1559 one (Cross, "Reservation", 1156).

⁸⁸BCP, 266, 268/422, 423. On the other hand, 1552 has the new rubric that in times of epidemic "when none of the parysh or neyghbours can be gotten to communicate wyth the sick in theyr houses, for feare of infeccion, upon special request of the diseased, the minister may alonly communicate wyth hym" (423, cf. 268).

⁸⁹Ibid., 267 (cf. 423).

⁹⁰Ibid., 267f. (cf. 423).

⁹¹Whitaker, 126.

⁹²G.J. Van derPoll, M. Bucers Liturgical Ideas (Assen: 1954), 150. The review has been lost, but a letter from Peter Martyr to Bucer preserves some of his critique. See also Proctor & Frere, 77, and Harris, 560.

⁹³Charles Harris, whose liturgical sympathies appear to clearly tend in an Anglo-Catholic direction, discusses the issues of the continuation of perpetual reservation, administration of the viaticum to persons in extremis and in one kind as well as both after 1549 (553-557). He concludes that the traditional continual reservation and the possibility of administration of only the bread in an emergency continued. Hopefully his estimation of the English situation is more knowledgable and unprejudiced than that we shall see him making of continental reformers.

⁹⁴Proctor & Frere, 628, 81.

⁹⁵Harris, 561. He discusses the various possibilities of interpretation on pp. 557-561.

⁹⁶Ernst Bizer in: Franz Lau and Ernst Bizer, A History of the Reformation in Germany to 1555, trans. B.A. Hardy (London: 1969), 149ff.

⁹⁷Harris, 577. He also declares that Luther "definitely sanctioned Reservation in both kinds....Upon the whole, he prefers that Reservation should be practised as quietly and unostentatiously as possible; and that controversy and criticism should be avoided by saying nothing about it in the published Service Books" (ibid.). The parts of the letter relevant to the issue of reservation we quote in the next note. Harris gives no date or primary source for the letter; it is from 4 (or 5?) Dec. 1539 and is found in WA Br 8, # 3420, 622f.

⁹⁸WA Br 8, # 3420, 622f. Here are the relevant parts of the letter: "...denn das man das Sacrament einerley gestalt solt in der Procession umbher tragen, Ist Gottes spott, wie E.C.F.G. selbst wissen, wie es ein halb, ja kein Sacrament ist, Soll man aber beide gestalt umbtragen, ist noch erger unnd eine solche newerung, die aller welt maul and augen auff sperren würde, auch den Papisten ursach geben zu spöttey. Darumb ist mein unterthenige bitt, haben E.C.F.G. so viel gewagt, in den rechten hohen ernsten Artickeln wider den Teufel, wolten solchen geringen Artickel auch faren lassen, Damit der Teuffel nicht aus der gantzen Reformation ein geschwetz und gelechter anrichte.

Mit der ölung und Sacrament zu den Krancken tragen, möchts leiden, so fern es nicht Papietischer weise gebraucht würde. Aber damit ich E.c.f.g. mein gutdüncken sage: weil ich sehe, das E.c.f.g. solcher ernst ist, deucht mich, man möchte solche zwey stück sonst im gebrauch halten, aber nicht in die Reformation fassen und durch den Druck lassen ausgehen. Denn weil die Vorrede gibt, es solle ein solche Reformation sein in der Schrifft gegründet, unnd der anhebenden Kirchen brauch gewest, würd es viel Cavillation, Calumnias erregen, derjenigen, so das widerspiel würden auffbringen, denn der Kirchen breuche sind von anfang uber alle masse ungleich gewest....

Das Sacrament zu den Krancken zu tragen möcht auch also im brauch (so lang es zu thun) bleiben, unnd nicht not, inn den Druck mit zufassen oder zuordnen, denn es ist menschlicher andacht Ordnung, nicht Gottes Gebot, darumb mag mans halten, doch sine superstitione, bis mans kan besser machen.

Auch das man das Sacrament vom Altar in der Messe neme und nicht ins Ciborium setze."

⁹⁹Harris, 577. See n. 97 above.

¹⁰⁰See Peter Matheson, Cardinal Contarini at Regensburg (Oxford: 1972), 126-131, and the documents he discusses, in CR IV, 216f., 261ff., 271-279.

¹⁰¹Matheson suggests that one of the texts (CR IV, 262f.) may have been composed by Bucer as an attempt to reach agreement. Indeed, such an aim would explain the vagueness of the terms and phrases (see the next note and corresponding text).

¹⁰²CR IV, 263.

¹⁰³Matheson, 131, and CR IV, 271-278.

¹⁰⁴CR IV, 267.

¹⁰⁵Quoted by Harris, 567, from Beza's Tractationes Theologicae (1570), vol. III, 148f. Also Harris, 578.

¹⁰⁶Bucer, for example, in his Formula brevis on visiting the sick wanted "that as far as possible the whole family be assembled" and that at least some of them take the sacrament if it were administered to the sick person (Common Places, 431, 442). The patient was to be told at the beginning of the service for the sacrament: "Therefore, seeing that at present you are unable to attend the assemblies of the Church, we instead are gathered here in your presence in the name of the Church. We shall gladly celebrate

and receive this sacrament with you" (*ibid.*, 443).

¹⁰⁷Inst. IV.17.39.

¹⁰⁸"Panem tanquam sacrum e templo afferri praeposterum est: gestari vero in pompa nullo modo tolerabile." CR XXXVIII, CO X¹, 213f. (12 Aug. 1561). Harris quotes parts of it from another source (Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*), remarking that with regard to reservation Calvin "expresses great dislike for the practice, but does not absolutely condemn it" (Harris, 564). He also refers to the passage in the *Institutes*, and here, though his comments may not be precisely incorrect, his interpretation gives the impression that Calvin would have easily tolerated reservation after the service. (Though Harris here inserts "after the service" when he is referring to what Calvin could have tolerated, on p. 578 he does not, which is misleading if one reads only the summary statement on the latter page.) While Harris is sensible enough to point out that William Maxwell must "labour" to find positive support for reservation in Calvin, he feels one can safely say that Calvin had "no objection on principle to the practice" (565). It seems that Harris falls prey to his own ecclesiastical tendencies, ignoring Calvin's negative remarks and putting too much weight on what was not said.

He also claims that "Reservation was certainly in use in that city (Strasbourg) as early as 1548 and perhaps considerably earlier". Then he speculates, considering it also "safely said", that "if Reservation was already the established use of the Reformed Church of Strassburg, when Calvin was pastor there, it is quite possible that he reserved" (565). However, the Strasbourg Orders for 1534 and 1537-61 give no hint of reservation of any sort, nor does Bucer's *Formula brevis* (cf. n. 106 above), nor does the section on visiting the sick in Bucer's "Summarischer vergriff" of 1548 (Common Places, 91; *Résumé sommaire*, 70-73). Harris' syllogism runs: Pullain/Pollanus was in Strasbourg. He "derived his Liturgy" (the *Liturgia sacra*), which includes taking the sacrament from the church to the sick after the service, "from Strassburg". Therefore "it is obvious that Reservation for the sick was also the practice at Strassburg at least as early as 1548 (when Pollanus left the city), and probably earlier still" (578f.). Harris' conclusions, one must suggest, should be used with care. On Calvin's Strasbourg liturgy of 1540, Pullain's liturgy, and that of Strasbourg's (German-speaking) church see Sehling VII¹, 558f.

¹⁰⁹1 Dec. 1563, Schwarz # 751 (CR # 4051).

¹¹⁰MBDS 4, 250. Memmingen 1569 has no section on visiting the sick, but the visitation questions indicate that such visits were expected. It is not clear whether sick communion was usual, but the section on the ban states that excommunicated people who were very ill should not be refused the sacrament if they repented and promised to better themselves and requested communion. Other Christians were to be present (Sehling XII, 262, 266).

¹¹¹MBDS 4, 250.

¹¹²Richter I, 236.

¹¹³*Ibid.*

¹¹⁴Hubert, 127. Bucer in his Formula brevis had similar conditions and added the danger of death to them, but these were not to be too pedantically judged (Common Places, 435f.). He also stressed the desire for the sacrament (443, in liturgy), but to the devout Christians, "if there is cause to fear a dangerous or prolonged illness, the comfort of the sacrament should also be declared and offered" (434).

¹¹⁵Sehling VIII, 124: "auff dass es desto da ein ordenlicher communion sei." See above, p. 111, n. 61.

¹¹⁶Augsburg's Order of 1537 should be included here. It instructs that if possible the house servants should also be admonished to take communion with the sick "das es ain gemain seie" (Sehling XII, 64).

The 1978 Convention of the Lutheran Church in America discussed administration by laypeople of bread and wine consecrated on the same day at the congregational communion service to those unable to attend because of sickness or age. After lengthy debate it was agreed that "pastors or designated lay members could commune the sick using elements from the congregation's celebration, but that the practice is 'intended neither to suggest a concept of "reserved elements" nor depart from the traditional role of the pastor (as presiding minister).'" (The Lutheran, August 1978, 7.)

¹¹⁷Richter I, 124.

¹¹⁸Form und gestalt, Dvi a+b. The formula for the bread: "Der ungezweyfelt glaub, so du hast in den tod des leibs Christi, sey dir dienlich zü dem ewigen leben." For the wine: "Der glaub, den du hast inn das vergossen blüt Christi, des widergedechtnüß du haltest, sey dir nutz zü abnemung der pein und schuld deiner sund." The Ermahnung follows, beginning: "Wolan meyn lieber brüder, hie hastu dich bejeügt, für ein brüder, und bist nün eyn glid des leybs Christi, darumb byß eyngedenck, das, wer durch den glauben also eyngeleibt wurd Christo, Und so er schon styrbt, so mag in der todt nitt behalten ewigleich...."

¹¹⁹Richter II, 140; Große KO, xciii b.

¹²⁰Sehling VIII, 124; MBDS 7, 290. Bucer in his Formula brevis directed that the family be requested to be present, then launched a long instructive sermon (Common Places, 431ff.), clearly aimed at the bystanders equally as much as at the sick person.

¹²¹Sehling VIII, 129; MBDS 7, 290.

¹²²Richter II, 44.

¹²³Sehling XII, 104. A number of Orders direct that a table be thus prepared to consecrate the elements.

¹²⁴Ibid., 104ff. Cf. the Heidelberg Catechism, the answer to the second question on the Catechism (Niesel, 150).

¹²⁵Sehling III, 77. See again Luther's letter on this point, n. 98, p. 317 above. When the sacrament was not taken immediately to the sick, but reserved for some days, only the bread was reserved for the wine changed too quickly (CR IV, 275).

¹²⁶1524: Sehling XI, 44. 1528: Sehling XI, 137. On the Protestants and the eucharist see ch. 3, sec. 3.

¹²⁷Sehling XI, 520f. Laurentius Petri made similar provisions (Yelverton, Archbishop, 77).

¹²⁸Sehling XI, 653ff.

¹²⁹Ibid., 661.

¹³⁰The introduction to the Order in Sehling XI casts no light on this question, indeed, does not mention it.

¹³¹Kurbrandenburg: Sehling III, 81. Kurpfalz: Sehling XIV, 172.

¹³²BCP 268/423. In 1552 the word "spiritually" is omitted, certainly not insignificantly. Indeed, when included it does suggest that the normal communion is less spiritual.

¹³³Ulm KO: MBDS 4, 251. Strasbourg: Richter I, 236. Dietrich: Sehling XI, 521. Swedish KO: Yelverton, Archbishop, 77. The BCP rubric quoted above mentioning spiritual communion is taken from "the ancient office" (Proctor & Frere, 629). See above, ch. 2, p. 16, for use of the phrase and idea in Roman Catholicism.

In his Formula brevis Bucer related that at first, "since the error of placing one's trust in the outward act itself had taken much deeper root at that period than at present, so much more urgently did we exhort men to receive by faith, and to receive the sacrament in the Church." The result was that people "adduce and advance their imagined receiving by faith in such a fashion that not only when they are ill, at home, but even when fit and well, at Church, they never trouble themselves about the sacraments. As a result, they are becoming totally estranged from the communion of the Church" (Common Places, 430, 431).

¹³⁴Schwarz, # 576 (CR # 2945). Schwarz dates this letter to Wenzel Zuleger in Zweibrücken as written on 29 Aug. 1558. William Maxwell, John Knox's Genevan Service Book, 1556 (London: 1931), cites the first part of this passage, with 4 Sept. as the date. CR reads: 4^o. Calend. Septembres. Also cf. Calvin's letter of 1 Dec. 1563 to Olevianus (Schwarz # 751 (CR # 4051)).

¹³⁵At least, not directly, as for Luther and others, since it did not strengthen faith in Zwingli's view (see ch. 3, pp. 25, 37).

¹³⁶1532 Order: Richter I, 171. He wrote it at the request of his father-in-law, Heinrich Bullinger, as a response to an inquiry from the Hungarian church (Markus Jenny, "Bullinger als Liturg", in: Ulrich Gäbler and Erland Herkenrath, ed., Heinrich Bullinger 1504-1575, I (Zurich: 1975), 210). De ritibus...eccl. Tigur. 25 b: "Eucharistiam, quia publica totius coetus est celebritas, morituris non ministrant: sed docent, quomodo & in quem finem à Christo instituta sit, quemque, fructum ipse inde percipere debeant, quod in publico coetu cum aliis piis hominibus corporis & sanguinis Christi symbolis participarunt."

The 2nd Helvetic Confession's paragraph on visiting the sick, ch. XXV (Leith, 183), makes no mention of communion of the sick as part of the pastoral ministry.

¹³⁷This seems to be the case on the basis of Smend's listing of editions of the Orders of Basel, where they are said to have "essentially the same form" in the editions of 1537, 1569, 1572, 1578, 1584, 1591, 1666, and 1701 (Smend, 213). Since he remarks on the early presence of such communion (61), it is likely that he would mention its exclusion from any of these later editions. On Oecolampadius' view of communion as he was dying, and his colleagues' responses, see ch. 8, pp. 257f.

¹³⁸MBDS 4, 208f. According to E.-W. Kohls' introduction to the Ulm KO, the Handbüchlein of 1531 was traditionally said to be the work of Sam, but one can assume "eine nicht geringe Mitarbeit" on the part of Ambrosius Blaurer. It provided the liturgies for the church; the KO was "lediglich eine Rahmenordnung" (MBDS 4, 208).

¹³⁹Richter I, 160.

¹⁴⁰Richter I, 236.

¹⁴¹Sehling VII¹, 666.

¹⁴²From the 1543 ed., Sehling XI, 522.

¹⁴³Sehling VII¹, 666. The Form of Prayers of the English church in Geneva directs that a minister called to a sick person "dothe not onlie make prayers for hym there presentlie, but also if it so requyre commendeth hym in the publique prayers to the congregation" (Maxwell, 161).

¹⁴⁴Form und gstalt, Diiiii a: "Almächtiger Got, der deinem knecht den künig Ezechie fünffzehem jar des lebens erlengert hast, wöllest mit der selben hand deiner maiestat auch disem knecht zü deyner eere die gesundtheit verleihen nach deynem wolgefallen durch Christum unseren herren, Amen." The litany (Dii b-Diii b) is not found elsewhere in the Form und gstalt. According to Smend it does not seem related to the Letaney published by Oecolampadius (Smend, 61).

¹⁴⁵BCP 267/422.

¹⁴⁶Hubert, 124f. The choice of "he(she)" is given in this way in the text.

¹⁴⁷Mentioned in Strasbourg 1537-61, which contains quite a lot of typical passages; Hubert, 119.

¹⁴⁸Form und gstalt, Diiiii a-Dv a. The image of the thief on the cross from this gospel also appears in the absolution. The sentence following the narrative reads: "Durch dises heilig Euangelium, verzeych uns Gott al unser sünd." The text of the admonition is given above in n. 57. Cf. Bullinger in his Bericht der Krancken (Zurich: 1553), ch. XII, headed: "In dem sterben Christi habend wir ein vollkommen exempel wie wir uns zum tod rüsten söllend." He went through the passion as a summary of what he had previously written on "wie man by den krancken und sterbenden menschen handeln...solle", as his book's title continues.

¹⁴⁹On conformity, see ch. 4, pp. 78f. On communion, for example, see Luther's "Sermon v. sterben", WA 2, 692ff.

¹⁵⁰Richter I, 269: "Soll auch in aller, am allermeisten aber in der letstenn nott, der tod Christi bedacht und begangen, ime von hertzen darumb gedankt werden...." On "bedacht" (bedenken) and "begangen" (begehen): Grimm I, 1222 & 1285.

¹⁵¹Maxwell, 160.

¹⁵²Richter II, 20.

¹⁵³Sehling XI, 595.

¹⁵⁴Richter I, 267.

¹⁵⁵Cf. for example Veit Dietrich's Agendbüchlein, Sehling XI, 514. Luise Klein discusses Wenzeslaus Link's (or Linck) "Wie man Christenlich die krancken trösten müge, durchs vater unnser, Zehen gebot, unnd Artickel des glaubens, sampt nützung der Sacrament, darauff das gantz Christliche wesen stehet" (1529). It has "einen durchgeformten Aufbau: Gesetz, Evangelium und Gebet", and is structured according to the pieces of the catechism (Klein, 95ff.).

¹⁵⁶Yelverton, Manual, 91.

¹⁵⁷BCP 264/421.

¹⁵⁸Proctor & Frere, 626. The texts are Ps. 61.3, Phil. 2.10, and Acts 4.12.

¹⁵⁹Form und gestalt, Dvii b. Hessen 1566: Sehling VIII, 328.
 The Basel Order: "Gott der herr sterck dich an leib und seel, und verleyhe dir ritterlich zü fechten wider alle anfechtung, und zü sigen unnd verharren im glauben. Der herr sey bey dir und benedey dich, beschirm dich vor allem übel und erfüll dich mit allem güttem inn ewigkeyt. Amen."
 Hessen's: "Gott der Herr sterke euch, verleihe euch, ritterlich im glauben zu fechten wider alle anfechtung, und zu verharren im glauben Christi. Der Herr sei stetiges bei euch, beshirm euch vor dem bösen und allen anfechtungen, erfülle euch mit allem guten und gnaden bis in ewigkeit. Der almechtig Gott geleit euch in das ewige leben und verleihe euch ein fröhlich auferstehung am jüngsten gericht, durch Jesum Christum. Amen."

Basel's parish communion service liturgy has not a benediction, strictly speaking, but rather the following "Pax" after distribution of the elements: "Lassend euch die lieb befolhen seyn under einander, und zuvorab die armen. Der fryd Christi sey mit eüch. Amen" (Cv b).

¹⁶⁰See Rudolf Mohr, Protestantische Theologie und Frömmigkeit im Angesicht des Todes während des Barockzeitalters (Marburg: 1964) 348-353. Luther uses the image, for example, in his sermon on baptism of 1519, WA 2, 727.

¹⁶¹Sehling XI, 715.

¹⁶²Ibid., 715, 712f. For the third question, "Was standes bistu?", there is no suggested answer given.

¹⁶³Richter I, 236. See p. 131 for Konrad Sam's rejection of the sacrament as viaticum (n. 139).

¹⁶⁴Sehling XII, 64: "...jedoch wa kranken sein werden, denen man mit dem hailigen sacrament zu kainem aberglauben uf das eußer empfahen, sonder zu warer sterke des rechten rainen glaubens an unsern Herren Jesum Christum gedienen mag...."

¹⁶⁵Sehling VIII, 124, Richter I, 302.

¹⁶⁶Sehling XI, 522.

¹⁶⁷Yelverton, Archbishop, 77.

¹⁶⁸Bizer, Conf. Virtem., 165f.

¹⁶⁹Yelverton, Manual, 64, 42. The 1541 revision was made by Laurentius Petri and George Norman, Ordinary to the King and Superintendent of the Clergy, a German and less-conservative Protestant (Yelverton, Archbishop, 53, 8f.).

¹⁷⁰Yelverton, Manual, 48, 87-91.

¹⁷¹Ibid., 42.

¹⁷²BCP 264f. (cf. 421). Proctor & Frere, 625f.

¹⁷³Whitaker, 124-127.

¹⁷⁴Brandenburg-Nürnberg 1533, Richter I, 209. Also à Lasco/Micronius: "Denn es nit wol möglich ist, einen gewissen bericht und trost der kranken zu beschreiben, der allen menschen zugleich dienen soll" (Sehling VII¹, 665).

¹⁷⁵Maxwell, 160.

¹⁷⁶Sehling XI, 515.

¹⁷⁷Sehling XIII, 89.

¹⁷⁸Richter II, 20.

¹⁷⁹Strasbourg: Hubert, 119ff. BCP, 260ff./418ff.

¹⁸⁰Yelverton, Manual, 64f.

¹⁸¹Sehling XI, 138.

¹⁸²Sehling VII¹, 666.

¹⁸³Richter II, 158. This was evidently influenced by La Forme des Prieres.

¹⁸⁴For the examples of Strasbourg and Geneva see Köhler II, 361ff., 546ff.

¹⁸⁵Nonetheless, acts of love were not to cease. Bucer most forcefully pointed this out, for example in his first popular work, "Daß ihm selbst niemand, sondern anderen leben soll" (1523), where he wrote: "Tun wir gar keine guten Werke und suchen wir nur das Unsere, so haben wir gar keinen Glauben." (Robert Stupperich, ed., Reformatorsche Verkündigung und Lebensordnung (Bremen: 1963), 365.)

¹⁸⁶For summaries in this area see: Gerhard Uhlhorn, Die Christliche Liebesthätigkeit, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: 1895); essays in Herbert Krimm, ed., Das diakonische Amt der Kirche (Stuttgart: 1953); and for references to further literature and the whole context, Köhler's Zürcher Ehegericht und Genfer Konsistorium. In Uhlhorn see esp. 599f.; in Köhler, II, 408ff. (on Strasbourg). Specifically see: Robert Stupperich, "Bruderdienst und Nächstenhilfe in der deutschen Reformation" in: Krimm, 168-171; W. Bernoulli, "Von der reformierten Diakonie der Reformationszeit" in: Krimm, 193ff. Cf. on Nürnberg: Stupperich, "Bruderdienst", 179ff.; on Strasbourg: ibid., 182f.; on Augsburg: ibid., 184; on Zurich: Bernoulli, 193ff.; on other Swiss cities: ibid., 196; on German cities: ibid., 197. The situation in rural areas did not change nearly as much as in the urban ones (ibid., 195; Stupperich, "Bruderdienst", 189).

¹⁸⁷Bernoulli, 213f.

¹⁸⁸Ibid., 210; Köhler, II, 586; Uhlhorn, 601.

¹⁸⁹Bernoulli, 206f.; Wendel, 305. Bucer had also envisioned a diaconate for these purposes, not subject to the control of the civil authorities but rather as a purely ecclesiastical office (Bernoulli, 210f., 201). Zwingli and Bullinger, on the other hand, evidently had no conception of such an office and were content with care for the poor under secular (but not unchristian!) auspices (ibid., 196). Deacons also played a role in Lutheran conceptions of church structure (Maurer, 23ff.).

¹⁹⁰CR XXXIV, CO VI, 209: "Et mesme, si le Ministre a quelque chose, dequoy il puisse aussi consoler et aider corporellement les paovres affligez, il n'y espargnera rien, monstrant à tous vray exemple de charité."

¹⁹¹As in Geneva for various nationalities. See Bernoulli, 214.

¹⁹²Ibid., 216-225.

¹⁹³Maxwell, 160.

¹⁹⁴Sehling XI, 522.

¹⁹⁵Lu, "Auslegung d. Vaterunsers", WA 2, 108.

¹⁹⁶Pfalz-Neuburg 1543, Sehling XIII, 86; the same in Kurpfalz 1547, Sehling XIV, 110. Similarly in Kurbrandenburg 1540, Sehling III, 77.

¹⁹⁷Praedicantenordnung 1532, Richter I, 171. A similar direction for the "bishops" regarding their churches is found in the Reformatio Hassiae of Lambert of Avignon, Sehling VIII, 51; Richter I, 61.

¹⁹⁸Sehling XII, 106.

¹⁹⁹Sehling XI, 788. Such a signal is to be given according to the agreement of the theologians at the Brandenburg-Ansbach synod of 1556 as well (Sehling XI, 336, esp. n. 10).

²⁰⁰Yelverton, Manual, 89.

²⁰¹Sehling XIII, 88. Cf. also Kurbrandenburg 1540, Sehling III, 79ff. Luise Klein writes concerning "Spruchsammlungen" in the devotional literature of the 16th c.: "Nach 1530 erhalten immer mehr Teile der Erbauungsliteratur Spruchbuchcharacter. Spruchsammlungen für die seelsorgerliche Verwendung als Trost sind fast überall eingefügt, auch in Kirchenordnungen. Daneben wird aus der ursprünglichen pädagogischen Absicht bei Luther und Melanchthon, die die Spruchsammlungen als komprimierten Lernstoff verstanden, allmählich eine Legitimationsabsicht. Jeder Gedanke muß durch Schriftworte legitimiert werden. In der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts werden aus Spruchbüchern ausgedehnte Lexika" (Klein, 89).

²⁰²Sehling XIII, 410. The German titles of the hymns are: "Aus tiefer Not", "In fried und freud ich far dahin", "Nun freut euch, lieben Christen gemein". The song "von der tauf" is "Christ, unser Herr", and that "vom sacrament des leibs und bluts" is probably "Jesus Christus unser Heiland, der von uns den Gotteszorn wandt" or "Gott sei belobet und gebenedeiet" (*ibid.*). The English titles are taken from translations in the Lutheran Book of Worship (Minneapolis/Philadelphia: 1978).

²⁰³Sehling XII, 315.

²⁰⁴Dietrich, "Was die Christen für gedanken haben sollen, wenn sie mit der Leich gehen", in: Etliche Schrifften, 152.

Chapter 6: GUIDANCE OF THE CHURCH ORDERS CONCERNING THE DEAD AND THE BEREAVED

¹Lu, Foreword to the collection of Begräbnislieder (1542), WA 35, 479.

²Ibid.

³Schwäbisch Hall 1543, Richter II, 20.

⁴Nördlingen Renovatio (1525), Sehling XII, 304f. A group of Kirchenpfleger and ministers in Strasbourg complained prior to 1533 that "bei uns, nachdem die abergläubische Totenpracht abgestellt ist, wird nun schier viehisch mit vielen Abgestorbenen umgegangen" (Hubert, LXXXIII). There are also references in Schwäbisch Hall 1526 (Richter I, 47), Württemberg 1536 (Richter I, 272f), Hohenlohe 1553 (Sehling XV, 80).

⁵Schweinfurt 1543, Sehling XI, 644.

⁶For Strasbourg: Hubert, LXXXIII. On Nürnberg: Matthias Simon, "Zur Geschichte der Kirchenbücher: Der Zusammenbruch der kirchlichen Beerdigungssitte in Nürnberg 1524", Zeitschrift für bayerische Kirchengeschichte 33 (1964), 164.

⁷Reformatio Hassiae (1526) (Sehling VIII, 51; Richter I, 61), for example. Cf. Hubert, LXXXIII, as well.

⁸Richter I, 47. Lack of punctuation in the text makes the second and third sentences particularly difficult to translate:

"a Vigilia zu teutsch ein wacht genent ward morgens hielten sie in der kirchen by dem altar darvon das Sacrament geraicht wurd des abgestorbnen gedechtnus sein seel bevelhend in die handt gottes. Welchs die nachvolgenden ersehen und gemeint haben...."

⁹Kolb, 386ff.

¹⁰Ursula Rohner Baumberger von Rebstein, Das Begräbniswesen im calvinistischen Genf, diss., Basel, 1975, 36, 12f. Heinrich Bullinger wrote in his Bericht der krancken: "Uff die begrebt der lychnamen wirdt von etlichen menschen vil gesetzt, als die ouch der seel etwas nütze, das aber nit ist. Das der lyb ordentlich in die erden bestattet wirt, ist Christenlich. Das aber vil ceremonien gebrucht, und erst hochprachtig gedächtnussen nach den tod uferichtet werdend, ist Heidisch, unnd zeverwunderen daß der mensch in die toubsucht kumpt, daß er erst hoffarten wil wenn er gestorben ist....Das nun by den alten vil seltzamer brüchen unnd gewonheiten mit den todten cörpln und den begrabnen geübt sind, kumpt da har daß sy damit habend die läbenden gewöllen trösten, und den selben zü verston geben daß die lychnam ob sy schon yetzund tod, doch nit verdärben werdind....Nun aber so wir ungezwyllet wüssend und gloubend daß unser lyb uferston werdend, bedörfend wir dero schwach glöubigen brüchen gar nützid" (Fii bf.).

On Bern also: Jacobs, 97 n. 31b; Bürki, 180. The latter also records that the 1562 national synod of the Reformed church in France strictly forbade any church act at burial, "pour obvier à toutes superstitions," as the Discipline of that church states. It continues: "'Et seront exhortés ceux qui accompagnent les corps, de se comporter avec modestie durant le convoi, méditant selon l'object qui se présente, tant les misères et brièveté de cette vie, que l'esperance de la vie bienheureuse'" (Bürki, 180, text & n. 6).

¹¹Leith, 184.

¹²Sehling XII, 304f.

¹³MBDS 7, 251.

¹⁴See above, n. 4, p. 325.

¹⁵Van der Poll, 54.

¹⁶Jacobs, 97 n. 31b.

¹⁷Sehling XI, 45, text & n. 11; cf. Simon, 164ff.

¹⁸Brandenburg-Nürnberg: Sehling XI, 138; Weissenburg: Sehling XI, 661.

¹⁹Sehling XIII, 28 n. e. The influence on this Order was largely Lutheran, but the confessional situation in the city was unsettled (ibid., 259).

²⁰Sehling XIII, 410: "Das angezeigt werde, so jemand verstorben, und das begräbnis gesucht und begert werde....Das aus den diacon zwei mitgehen, die auch etwas davon haben sollen, wu die leut so vermügend".

²¹Emil Egli, ed., Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Zürcher Reformation in den Jahren 1519-1533 (Zurich: 1879), # 426 (29 Sept. 1523), 168f. Also Klassen, 204.

²²Whitaker, 128.

²³Drews, 30, 25ff.

²⁴MBDS 7, 296. Cf. the Cologne Reformation: "Unnd soll für die begrebnus von niemandt nichts genomen werden, Dann solches offenbare Simoney were" (Richter II, 50).

²⁵Paul Graff, Geschichte der Auflösung der alten gottesdienstlichen Formen in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands, 2nd ed., (Göttingen: 1937), I, discusses unfortunately only some north German Orders in his section on "Der Unterschied zwischen Armen und Reichen." He reports there that in Wittenberg in 1533 a distinction was made between "'gemeinen Menschen', 'mittelmäßigen Bürgern' und 'redlichen Leuten', nur bei diesen zuletzt Genannten findet öffentliche Beerdigung mit Pastor und Geläut statt, bei den übrigen nicht, bei den Bürgern darf aber wenigstens Begleitung der Schüler mit Gesang sein. Allerdings haben die KOO einzugreifen versucht. Bei armer Leute Begräbnis sollten nicht nur zwei oder drei Leute folgen, sondern auch aus jedem Hause wenigstens einer. ...Die Prediger sollen die Leute fleißig dazu ermahnen, denn viele Arme seien bei Gott reich und in Ansehen...; reiche Leute sollten ihre armen Freunde doch 'mit christlichen Zeremonien' öffentlich begraben lassen, auch die Geistlichen den Armen eine Predigt umsonst tun." This is from various KOO from the north, from 1563 and later. He also mentions other costs which might make a church burial unattainable for the poor. (368f.)

²⁶Sehling XI, 644.

²⁷Bürki, 181.

²⁸7 Oct. 1543, CR XXXIX, CO XI, # 506, 625; Schwarz # 103. Cf. Oberman, Werden u. Wertung, 356 n. 65, on the introduction of the 1536 KO in Montbéliard.

²⁹Nov. 1543, CR XXXIX, CO XI, # 517, 647.

³⁰Rohner-Baumberger, 30. See sec. 8 in this chapter on gravediggers and cemeteries.

³¹Rohner-Baumberger, 103.

³²Lavater, De ritibus...eccl. Tigur., 26 a: "Ubi ad coemeterium ventum est, nullae habentur funebres conciones, vel laudationes: sed tribunus, nomine cognatorum, paucis verbis omnibus agit gratias, quòd funus honeste deduxerint".

³³Lu, "Von den Konziliis und der Kirche" (1539), WA 50, 619.

³⁴The passage continues: "Doch mus man hie auch auff die masse sehen, das der Ceremonien zuletzt nicht zu viel werden. Zuvoraus aber mus man drauff sehen, das sie ja nicht als nöttig zur seligkeit geachtet werden, sondern allein zur eusserlichen zucht und ordnung dienen, die man alle stunde endern müge und nicht fur ewige rechte (wie der Bapst Esel thut) in der Kirchen geboten und mit Tyrannisschem dreuen in die bücher verfasst werden, Denn es ist gantz und gar eusserlich, leiblich, vergänglich, wandelbar ding "(ibid.)).

³⁵Sehling XI, 661.

³⁶Ibid., 664.

³⁷Kolb, 373f. Graff, 364.

³⁸Graff, 364.

³⁹Bürki, 181f.

⁴⁰Alfred Höck, "Begräbnisbrauch und Leichenpredigten in ländlichen Bereichen Hessens", in: Lenz, 302, speaks of it in rural areas of Hessen in the 18th c.

⁴¹Sehling I, 275.

⁴²Brandenburg-Nürnberg: Sehling XI, 138; Agendbüchlein, Sehling XI, 528; Kurpfalz: Sehling XIV, 173; Rothenburg: Sehling XI, 596, which repeats the phrase of Veit Dietrich ("Wo nun ein schule ist..."); Hessen: Sehling VIII, 336.

⁴³Sehling XIII, 287.

⁴⁴Sehling XI, 739: "Wenn jemand...gestorben ist, soll solches...den pfarherr angezeigt werden, der den zu gelegener stunden un zeit mit dem kirchner und schülern, so man sie haben kann, die leiche zum grab deducieren und beleiten helfe...."

⁴⁵Our Orders are not explicit on this point, but Grün shows that others from further north are (Hugo Grün, "Die kirchliche Beerdigung im 16. Jahrhundert", ThStKr 105 (1933), 152f.). See also Graff, 357.

⁴⁶MBDS 7, 296.

⁴⁷Lu, foreword to Begräbnislieder, WA 35, 478f.

⁴⁸Hubert, # 25 d, XXIf.

⁴⁹Ibid., # 39, XXXIf.

⁵⁰Wilhelm Horning, "Das Leichenbegängniß des Reformators M. M. Zell in Straßburg (11. Januar 1548)", in: Wilhelm Horning, ed., Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte des Elsasses vom 16.-19. Jahrhundert 7 (1887), 119.

⁵¹Ibid., and EKG 174: It is based on a Latin funeral hymn of Aurelius Prudentius (4th-5th c.). The EKG contains an eighth verse from Luther, who was often credited with the whole hymn:

"Das helf uns Christus, unser Trost,
der uns durch sein Blut hat erlöst
vons Teufels G'walt und ewger Pein.
Ihm sei Lob, Preis und Ehr allein!"

⁵²This was a medieval trans. used customarily in the Markgrafschaft Crailsheim (Sehling XIII, 89 n. 3).

⁵³Amberg 1544, Sehling XIII, 283: "etliche teutsch psalmen"; Hessen 1566, Sehling VIII, 336: "...werden etliche psalmen gesungen, darzu dienlich".

⁵⁴Sehling XI, 203: "nachdem es an einem jeden ort im gebrauch ist oder angericht werden mag".

- ⁵⁵Schweinfurt 1543, Sehling XI, 644.
- ⁵⁶Sehling XV, 80.
- ⁵⁷Sehling XI, 661.
- ⁵⁸Sehling XII, 149, in connection with the burial of a child seven or eight years old or older.
- ⁵⁹Richter I, 350; Jacobs, 97. The regulation that deaths should be controlled in this way was first introduced in April 1536 according to Rohner-Baumberger (19).
- ⁶⁰Sehling XIII, 410.
- ⁶¹Ibid.
- ⁶²Sehling XII, 148.
- ⁶³Sehling XIII, 411.
- ⁶⁴Kassel: MBDS 7, 296; Sehling VIII, 130. Hessen 1566: Sehling VIII, 336.
- ⁶⁵Richter II, 30.
- ⁶⁶Richter I, 350.
- ⁶⁷Simon, 164ff.
- ⁶⁸Egli, Aktensammlung, # 426 (29 Sept. 1523), 169; # 547 (June 1524), 238.
- ⁶⁹De ritibus...eccl. Tigur, 26 b: "In agro pulsantur campanae, non quod ad defunctum aliqua inde utilitas redeat, sed ut homines vel ad funus frequentes adsint, vel suae fortis admoniti, ad mortem se mature praeparent."
- ⁷⁰Rohner-Baumberger, 13.
- ⁷¹Steck & Tobler, # 2829 (26 June 1530), 1270.
- ⁷²Sehling III, 81. Pfalz-Neuburg: Sehling XIII, 89: "Darumb, wann ein christenglid mit tod ist abgangen, damit es meniglich kund werd, mag man im, wie bisher der brauch ist, lassen leuten und die leich...begraben."
- ⁷³Grün, "Beerdigung", 142.
- ⁷⁴Richter I, 272, "...mit beleütung einer glocken, dem armen und dem reichen gleich nit der seel zugut, sonder das sich die jhenigen, so die leüch beleyten wöllen, versamlen mögen...." The phrase about the poor and rich is in a somewhat puzzling position. It could also mean that the sign given was the same for both rich and poor.
- ⁷⁵Württemberg: Große KO xcv b; Richter II, 41f. Kurpfalz: Sehling XIV, 173. Rothenburg: Sehling XI, 596. Lindau: Sehling XII, 211n. Erbach: Richter II, 223. Hessen: Sehling 8, 336.
- ⁷⁶Grün, "Beerdigung", 172f.
- ⁷⁷Rohner-Baumberger, 30. Lavater, De ritibus...eccl. Tigur. 26 a: "Postea obitus alicuius tribulibus significatur (oppidum enim in φρατρίας vel tribus duodecim, est distinctum.) Illi hora

constituta veniunt ad aedes defuncti, liberis, cognatis & affinibus ipsius, dolorem suum testantur, accidunt & vicini & alii cives. Tandem funus in coemeterium deferetur: sequuntur liberi, cognati, amici, & cuiuscunque ordinis hominis: mox & mulieres magna modestia."

⁷⁸Richter I, 47.

⁷⁹1554/55 Walloons (Pullain), Richter II, 158.

⁸⁰Albertine Saxony 1539, Sehling I, 275f. Kurbrandenburg 1540, Sehling III, 81.

⁸¹BCP 269/ 424.

⁸²Yelverton, Archbishop, 77. For example, Hessen 1566 (Sehling VIII, 336).

⁸³Sehling VIII, 336: "...und der entschlauffne von etlichen christen ehrlich zum grabe getragen, welchen die kirche und gemein volget in ihrer ordnung." For Lavater, see n. 77 above.

⁸⁴Sehling XIII, 196.

⁸⁵Grün, "Beerdigung", 176f., 173.

⁸⁶Maxwell, 161. On the other hand, we recall that Calvin recommended to the Montbéliard ministers quite firmly that the address not be held in the church (above p. 165f., n. 28).

⁸⁷Sehling XII, 211-212n.

⁸⁸See above, p. 173, n. 62.

⁸⁹Sehling VIII, 61. Karl August Credner, ed. & trans., Philipp's des Grossmüthigen Hessische Kirchenreformationen-Ordnung (Gießen: 1852), 73.

⁹⁰Credner, LXXIV, LXXXI.

⁹¹Sehling VIII, 61. Credner, 73, translates liberum as "nach Belieben".

⁹²Richter I, 124.

⁹³MBDS 7, 296.

⁹⁴Richter II, 50.

⁹⁵Claus-Peter Clasen, Anabaptism. A Social History (Ithaca/London: 1972), 149f. He brings as well the following example: "A woman accompanied the funeral procession of her two brothers to the gates of the cemetery, but then quickly walked away" (83). From proceedings against Anabaptists in Zurich in 1526 Egli gives the following about one Michael Meier: "Seinem Bruder habe er geholfen, seine Frau in eine Wiesenplatz, nicht etwa im Keller oder in der Scheune, zu begraben; 'syn bruoder syge der meinung gsin, diewil das erterich fryg, sin frowen zuo begraben, wo das sich begebe' " (Egli, Aktensammlung, # 953, 458).

⁹⁶Nov. 1525: Egli, Aktensammlung, # 865, 407. Lavater, De ritibus...eccl. Tigur., 26 b: "Epitaphia quoque nulla amplius vel saxis, vel aeneis tabulis inciduntur: lapidibus sculptis sepulchra non conteguntur, ne luxus ille sepulchrorum redeat. Ossa

mortuorum non coaceruantur, sed defodiuntur in terram, ut secundum domini verbum, in pulverem redeant." The last refers to the medieval "Beinhäuser", or ossuarium. To make possible more burials in the graveyard, the graves were dug up and the bones put in a building in the cemetery for protection from the weather. See Hugo Grün, "Der deutsche Friedhof im 16. Jahrhundert", Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde 24 (1925), 92f.

⁹⁷Rohner-Baumberger, 29, 10. They not only dug the graves, they were expected to keep the churchyard in order.

⁹⁸Ordonnances ecclésiastiques, Richter I, 350; Niesel, 59. The Pfalz-Neuburg Generalartikel of 1576, which seem to offer other parallels to the Genevan provisions, states that no one of any age was to be buried unless reported first to the clergy by the gravedigger. In other areas it appears that the report went directly to the clergy from the family, especially if the minister was to take part in the funeral or kept the death register. (Cf. Grün, "Beerdigung", 147f.)

⁹⁹Rohner-Baumberger, 19, 24f., 30. She discusses problems of demands by the enterreurs for wine and meat as well as their wage (26f.).

¹⁰⁰Cf. Egli, Aktensammlung, # 866, 408.

¹⁰¹Rohner-Baumberger, 28. "Bourgeois" were non-natives of Geneva granted privileges of citizens (Robert M. Kingdon, "The Control of Morals in Calvin's Geneva", in: Buck & Zophy, 8). The Pfalz-Neuburg Generalartikel contain this provision: "Wo irgend zwaiierlai gottsacker in und außerhalb der statt weren und etwa furnembste leut iren begrebnussen in der statt haben und begeren wurden, soll denselbigen ein solches unverbeten sein, doch daß si deswegen ein anzal gelts in gottskasten geben" (Sehling XIII, 196). Grün mentions separate cemeteries for aliens in larger towns ("Friedhof", 77).

¹⁰²Sehling XIII, 196. Luther also considered hygiene to be one reason for situating a cemetery outside town walls. He also complained about the attitude people took toward the churchyard in Wittenberg, which was like "four or five alleys, two or three marketplaces, with the result that no place in the whole town is busier or noisier than the cemetery. People and cattle roam over it at any time, night and day. Everyone has a door or pathway to it from his house and all sorts of things take place there, probably even some that are not fit to be mentioned. This totally destroys respect and reverence for the graves, and people think no more about walking across it than if it were a burial ground for executed criminals." ("Ob man...fliehen möge", LW 43, 137; WA 23, 377.)

¹⁰³Sehling XII, 316. Cf. Luther, "Ob man...fliehen möge", LW 43, 137; WA 23, 375: "Such a place should be a decent, hal-lowed place, to be entered with trepidation and reverence because doubtlessly some saints rest there."

¹⁰⁴Sehling VIII, 336.

¹⁰⁵Horning, 53.

- 106 Ludwig Ruland mentions the medieval practice (182).
- 107 Sehling III, 81.
- 108 Yelverton, Archbishop, 78. On bequests for the poor, BCP 1549 and 1552 instruct in the section on visitation of the sick: "The minister may not forget nor omitte to move the sicke person (and that most earnestly) to lyberalitie towarde the poore" (BCP 262/419).
- 109 Richter II, 158.
- 110 Sehling VII¹, 667.
- 111 Formula brevis, Common Places, 192.
- 112 Allstedt 1523/24 (Müntzer), Sehling I, 507.
- 113 Bürki, 188.
- 114 Sehling XI, 596.
- 115 Sehling XI, 739.
- 116 Eberhard Winkler, Die Leichenpredigt im deutschen Luthertum bis Spener (Munich: 1967), 10f.
- 117 Brandenburg-Nürnberg 1533 = Pfalz-Neuburg 1543, Schwäbisch Hall 1543 = Cologne 1543, Dietrich's Agendbüchlein = Rothenburg 1559, Erbach 1560.
- 118 Sehling XI, 203. Pfalz-Neuburg: Sehling XIII, 89.
- 119 Sehling XI, 596.
- 120 Sehling XI, 528.
- 121 Richter II, 20.
- 122 Richter II, 50.
- 123 Sehling VII¹, 667.
- 124 Württemberg 1536 & 1553/59, Pullain's Liturgia sacra, Kur-Pfalz 1556, Hessen 1566.
- 125 Sehling XV, 80.
- 126 Richter I, 272.
- 127 Sehling XI, 739.
- 128 Richter I, 273.
- 129 Sehling XII, 212n.
- 130 Hubert, 129. The last phrase in German reads: "...und uns durch alle gottsäligkeyt ins künfftig himmlisch wesen richten."
- 131 MBDS 4, 251.
- 132 Formula brevis, Common Places, 91f.
- 133 See above, sec. 1, pp. 163ff. Cf. Mohr, 27.
- 134 Sehling XII, 316.
- 135 Ibid.
- 136 Ibid., 329.

¹³⁷Sehling XV, 80.

¹³⁸Sehling 12, 149.

¹³⁹Ibid., 122ff., 148 n. 24.

¹⁴⁰On Memmingen and Augsburg: Sehling XII, 148 n. 24. On Myconius: Hagenbach, 382. Rohner-Baumberger, 14.

¹⁴¹Winkler, Leichenpredigt, 237f. On Leichenpredigten see further: the essays in various disciplines in Lenz, ed., Leichenpredigten als Quelle; Schmidt-Grave, Leichenreden Tübinger Professoren; Mohr, Theologie und Frömmigkeit im Angesicht des Todes, all of which we have referred to before, and Hugo Grün, "Die Leichenrede im Rahmen der kirchlichen Beerdigung im 16. Jahrhundert", ThStKr 96/97(1925) 289-312.

¹⁴²WA 171, 196-227; WA 36, 237-270; LW 51, 231-255. Johannes Brenz, Werke. Frühschriften, T. 2, ed. M. Brecht, et al. (Tübingen: 1974), 108ff.

¹⁴³Richter II, 50.

¹⁴⁴Richter II, 158.

¹⁴⁵Sehling VII¹, 667.

¹⁴⁶Sehling VIII, 335.

¹⁴⁷Winkler, Leichenpredigt, 238, summarizes: "Die Gefahr unangebrachten Rühmens war schon Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts erkannt. Kritische Stimmen weisen besonders auf den sozialen Aspekt des Problems hin. Sie beschuldigen viele Prediger, gegen Bezahlung das Lob gottloser Reicher zu singen. Die Perikope vom Reichen und Lazarus wird von den Kritikern wiederholt herangezogen. Angesichts der weithin verheerenden sozialen Lage des Predigerstandes ist der Vorwurf verständlich." Hohenlohe 1578: Richter I, 401. The 1572 Kirchenregimentsordnung for Regensburg recommends that those who live and die as good Christians should be given "ein öffentlich gezeugnis ihres lebens und absterbens" (Sehling XIII, 498) as part of the ceremonies accompanying burial. This was also not to be refused those "so Gott etwa wunderbarlich in ihrem letzten stündlein erleuchtet, daß sie ihr sündlich ärgerlich leben erkennen, darüber rechte reue und laid tragen," in short, who die at least as good Christians. Perhaps these latter were to be secretly hoped for, because the testimony about them would be "trost und freud" for the whole church, "doch andern rohen und sichern zu abscheu" (ibid.), and would serve as a more powerful example. The reissue of the Order in 1588, with changes mainly to bring it into a consistorial system, gave the opportunity for a revealing regulation on the Leichenpredigten to be inserted. The consistorium was to provide a common form for funeral sermons so no one could complain because of what was said concerning his or her parents or friends. Obviously what the Order wrote of in the subjunctive form had already happened on occasion: "dadurch aintwederß ägernus bei der christlichen gemein oder gefehrlicher widerwille und haß wider die kirchendiener erwachsen mögen" (ibid., 498f.). This is illuminated further by an order of the council which includes a warning to the clergy that they refrain from speaking evil of someone for the first time at the burial. However,

if there is found to be "ein solche ergerliche person..., daß besonderer erinnerung zum volk vonnöten, sollen sie sich des-halben beschaidts bei dem pfarrer erholen, so im consistorio hievor begriffen, und darüber nicht geschritten werden" (*ibid.*, 506).

¹⁴⁸Horning, 52: "Endlich begann er folgendermaßen:
'Matthäus Zell hat in vergangener Nacht das Leben mit dem Tode vertauscht, aber so, daß er nun ein besseres Loos erlangt hat und droben im Himmel das Erbtheil der Seligen besitzt.'"

¹⁴⁹Große KO, xcv a.

¹⁵⁰Yelverton, Manual, 94.

¹⁵¹Württemberg 1536: Richter I, 273 = Württemberg 1553/59:
Große KO xcvi a = Kurpfalz 1556: Sehling XIV, 181. BCP 269,
270 (cf. 424f.)

¹⁵²Sehling XIII, 287.

¹⁵³BCP 270 (cf. 424f.)

¹⁵⁴Ibid.

¹⁵⁵Ibid., 427.

¹⁵⁶Sehling VII¹, 667 text & n. 83.

¹⁵⁷De ritibus...eccl. Tigur., 26 a: after the burial "itur in templum, ubi tacitae preces fiunt ab his qui funus comitati sunt, non pro defuncto, sed pro eius familia, utque dominus omnibus largiatur, quo huius vitae miserias expendant, & ad coelestem anhelent."

¹⁵⁸1529: Richter I, 136; CR 92 ZW 5, 200.

¹⁵⁹Sehling VIII, 51.

¹⁶⁰Württemberg 1536: Richter I, 273; Württemberg 1553/59:
Große KO xcvi a; Kurpfalz 1556: Sehling XIV, 181; Pullain,
Liturgia sacra: Richter II, 158.

¹⁶¹Hubert, 129f.

¹⁶²Sehling XII, 211n.

¹⁶³Richter I, 171; Egli, Aktensammlung # 1899, 832.

¹⁶⁴CR 92 ZW 5, 200; cf. Richter I, 136, who gives a slightly different version. Lavater, De ritibus...eccl. Tigur.: "Sequenti die dominico, in publico ecclesiae coetu nominatim honorifica defuncti fit mentio, omnesque fortis humanae admonentur" (26 a).

¹⁶⁵Smend, 227 n. & text. Cf. Grün, "Beerdigung", 198f.

¹⁶⁶Rohner-Baumberger, 31.

¹⁶⁷MBDS 4, 251.

¹⁶⁸Richter I, 47. Smend also refers in this connection to an early German mass written by Franz Kolb for Wertheim (227n., 7).

¹⁶⁹Grün, "Beerdigung", 199 (from Pommern 1542), 200 (Kur-ländische KO 1570).

- ¹⁷⁰Sehling VIII, 51; Richter I, 61.
- ¹⁷¹MBDS 7, 296.
- ¹⁷²Ibid., 270.
- ¹⁷³Sehling VIII, 337.
- ¹⁷⁴Richter II, 50.
- ¹⁷⁵Sehling XII, 211n.
- ¹⁷⁶Yelverton, Archbishop, 79.
- ¹⁷⁷Sehling XIV, 238.
- ¹⁷⁸Sehling XII, 123, 148-149 text & n. 25.
- ¹⁷⁹Sehling XIII, 410.
- ¹⁸⁰MBDS 7, 296; Sehling VIII, 130.
- ¹⁸¹Sehling XII, 151.
- ¹⁸²Ibid.
- ¹⁸³Sehling VII¹, 667.
- ¹⁸⁴Kurbrandenburg: Sehling III, 81. Regensburg 1543: Sehling XIII, 411.
- ¹⁸⁵Kurbrandenburg: Sehling III, 81. Amberg: Sehling XIII, 294, esp. n. 41.
- ¹⁸⁶Amberg 1550/57: Sehling XIII, 294.
- ¹⁸⁷Yelverton, Archbishop, 79. In 1588 the Regensburg council decreed that each citizen should be free to decide if the shroud used at a burial should be given to the minister who had held the sermon, and that no minister had the power to demand this. This custom was also found in Nürnberg. (Sehling XIII, 506, esp. n. 2. How early this was done in Nürnberg is not said.) Earlier the Pfalz-Neuburg Generalartikel of 1576 directed that the church provide shrouds and biers, for in some places a decent burial could not be held for lack of them (Sehling XIII, 196).
- ¹⁸⁸Yelverton, Manual, 49f.; Archbishop, 77. The 1541 title was "The Bearing of the Body from the House" instead of "The Hallowing of the Dead".
- ¹⁸⁹Yelverton, Archbishop, 77.
- ¹⁹⁰Ibid., 79. The 2nd Helvetic Confession has a paragraph on spirits which begins: "Now, that which is recorded of the spirits or souls of the dead sometimes appearing to them that are alive, and craving certain duties of them whereby they may be set free: we count those apparitions among the delusions, crafts, and deceits of the Devil..." (Leith, 185).
- ¹⁹¹BCP 276f. (cf. 427f.) Whitaker, 128ff.
- ¹⁹²Richter II, 141; Große KO, xcv a = Kurpfalz 1556: Sehling XIV, 173 = Rothenburg: Sehling XI, 596.
- ¹⁹³Richter II, 274.

¹⁹⁴Sehling VIII, 51; Richter I, 61: "...non est enim aliud purgatorium, quam Dei Ecclesia, in qua fide purgamur et mundamur a peccatis."

¹⁹⁵Sehling XII, 305, 306.

¹⁹⁶Sehling XI, 528.

¹⁹⁷Those with only I Thess. 4, to be read or sung, are: Allstedt (Sehling I, 507), Brandenburg-Nürnberg 1528 (Sehling XI, 138), Strasbourg 1537-61 (Hubert, 128f.), Kurbrandenburg 1540 (Sehling III, 81), Württemberg 1553/59 as an optional text (Große KO, xcv b) = Kurpfalz 1556 (Sehling XIV, 174, given as 181), Dinkelsbühl, Bericht (Sehling XII, 149). Amberg, Spitalkirche, calls for "ein ermanung aus der epistel Pauli von der auferstehung". (Sehling XIII, 283 n. e; n. 16 suggests this is I Thess. 4. It could also be I Cor. 15.12ff.)

¹⁹⁸BCP 277/427.

¹⁹⁹Yelverton, Manual, 98-101. His brother in the 1561/71 Order recommended the forms from the Handbock for burials (Yelverton, Archbishop, 79).

²⁰⁰Sehling XI, 203 = Pfalz-Neuburg 1543, Sehling XIII, 89.

²⁰¹Richter I, 273.

²⁰²Weissenburg: "wie und in waserlei gestalt die toten zu beclagen sein" (Sehling XI, 661). Amberg: "wie sich die christen bei und uber iren verstorbenen recht halten, trosten und stellen sollen" (Sehling XIII, 287).

²⁰³Richter II, 20 = Cologne (Richter II, 50).

²⁰⁴Württemberg 1553/59 (Große KO, xcv b) = Kurpfalz 1556 Sehling XIV, 174, given as 181).

²⁰⁵On that tradition see Freybe, Das Memento Mori.

²⁰⁶MBDS 4, 251.

²⁰⁷Yelverton, Manual, 98f.

²⁰⁸Ibid., 94f.

²⁰⁹Agendbüchlein, Sehling XI, 528.

²¹⁰Sehling VII¹, 667.

²¹¹Richter II, 275.

²¹²Rich r I, 136.

²¹³Richter I, 47: "Und die andern ermant Ires glaubens und hoffens auch beherzigt bereyt zu sein dem beruff gottes wan und wie er wol zu volgen."

²¹⁴Cologne 1543, Richter II, 50.

²¹⁵Große KO, xcvi a: "Christenlich absterben".

²¹⁶Württemberg 1536: Richter I, 273. Kurpfalz 1563: Richter II, 273.

- ²¹⁷Sehling VII¹, 667.
- ²¹⁸Agendbüchlein, Sehling XI, 528.
- ²¹⁹Schweinfurt 1543, Sehling XI, 644. Schnepf in Württemberg 1536 called for an honorable burial "zur öffentlichen kuntschafft der aufferstehung" (Richter I, 272).
- ²²⁰Richter I, 171; Egli, Aktensammlung, # 1899, 832: "...mit zucht und christenlicher demuot als mitgenossen der urstendy Christi erlich bestatte".
- ²²¹MBDS 4, 251: "Die soll man mit aller zucht und Christenlicher demüt zür erden bestätten, als die wir bekennen der aufferstentnus taylhafftig sein".
- ²²²Richter I, 20: "als erben deß Himelreichs".
- ²²³Ibid.
- ²²⁴Große KO, xcv a (Richter II, 41): "...auch unser Glauben den wir in Christum haben, zür Urstend von den Todten hiemit bekennen, und die Hoffnung die wir zü des Verschidnen ewigen Heil unnd Seligkeit tragen bezeugen." = Kurpfalz 1556 (Sehling XIV, 173) = Rothenburg (Sehling XI, 596). Similarly Kurpfalz 1563: "...sonder geschicht solche bestattung der Leichen darumb, das die lebendigen hiemit ihren glauben von der aufferstehung der todten bekennen" (Richter II, 274; Sehling XIV).
- ²²⁵Sehling XIII, 89 = Albertine Saxony 1539 (Sehling I, 274) = Kurbrandenburg 1540 (Sehling III, 81).
- ²²⁶Richter II, 274.
- ²²⁷1536: Richter I, 273. 1553/59: Große KO, xcv a: "...damit wir die Lieb, so wir gegen inen in irem Leben gehabt, vor mäniglich (= jeder, jeglicher) beweisen". This was copied in Kurpfalz 1556 and Rothenburg 1559. Brenz in his Order for Schwäbisch Hall of 1543 merely said that those going to the grave "ir Christlich mitleiden erzeigen" (Richter II, 20).
- ²²⁸Sehling XI, 644.
- ²²⁹Schwäbisch Hall 1526: Richter I, 47.
- ²³⁰Sehling XII, 305f.: "Nobis est in funere laetandum habentibus spem, quia Dominus noster Jesu Christus resurrexerit, non dolendum gentium more. Libera charitas, libera memoria alenda est, ut Paulus aut quisquis est in Hebraeis hortator, ut fidem imitemur obdormientium et charitatem, ut praeparemus nos ad eorum convictum, cum adparuerit Dominus in gloria."
- ²³¹Richter I, 124: "Wann auch nemandts uß dem zyt diß jammerthals zu den fröden der seligkeyt berufft, des lyb soll mit zucht...bestattet werden."
- ²³²Yelverton, Manual, 98, 99, 101.
- ²³³Hubert, 129: "...alles ungemach, so wir inn disem jamerthal von wegen unser sünden billich leiden...." (= Hessen 1566, Sehling VIII, 337).

²³⁴Yelverton, Manual, 98f., 101, 52.

²³⁵Above, n. 230.

²³⁶Introduction to the Nördlingen Orders, Sehling XII, 276.

Chapter 7: SPECIAL DESIGNS OF DEATH

¹Anne Bradstreet, "In Memory of My Dear Grand-Child Elizabeth Bradstreet, Who Deceased August, 1665. Being a Year and Half Old", quoted in: Larzer Ziff, Puritanism in America: New Culture in a New World (New York: 1973), 124f.

²"Begräbnis". III.2, RGG³ I, 964 (E. Hertzsch).

³Quoted in the introduction to Lu, "Ein Trost den Weibern, welchen es ungerade gegangen ist mit Kinderbären" (1542), WA 53, 202f.

⁴Schlußreden, art. 67, 455. Cf. Lavater, De ritibus...eccl. Tigur: "Interim tamen bene sperat de salute infantium, qui neceBitate inevitabili sancto baptismo subtracti sunt" (11 a).

⁵Inst. IV.16.26. Also IV.15.20, 22.

⁶Thomas, 63. Erika Welti, Taufbräuche im Kanton Zürich (Zurich: 1967), points out that in Zurich the belief that unbaptized children could not be saved did not die easily in spite of the ministers' attacks on it (48).

⁷Sehling XIII, 189 n. 39; Sehling XI, 181 n. 19. That zeal for baptism should be expressed in this way was strictly forbidden by Protestants, as by Dietrich in the Agendbüchlein (Sehling XI, 506) and by Löner in the Order for Nördlingen of 1544 (Sehling XII, 314). See also Augsburg's Forma (1555) (Sehling XII, 99 text & n. 2). Also Lu, WA TR II, # 2742 b, 629. Reutlingen's Order forbids baptism "when only first a part of the body or the head is to be seen" because baptism is a rebirth, and thus must be preceded by the first birth (Christoph Duncker, ed., Matthäus Alber Reformator von Reutlingen (Weinsberg: 1970), 68.).

⁸Sehling VIII, 119 n. 19.

⁹Braunschweig 1528: Richter I, 108; Württemberg 1536: Richter I, 270.

¹⁰Duncker, 68.

¹¹Inst. IV.15.20-22. Calvin was particularly indignant about and particularly concerned to counter baptism by women, who no doubt were the usual ones who carried out emergency baptism if a minister was not able to do so. On this point he felt so strongly that he wrote to the ministers in Montbéliard on the introduction of this Lutheran practice, though he had been able to counsel compromise on others: "Die Nottaufe den Hebammen zu erlauben, ist eine gottlose, frevelhafte Entweihung der Taufe. So halte ich dafür, daß Ihr diesen Punkt nicht nur ablehnen, sondern sogar, wenn der Fürst fortfährt, Euch damit übermäßig zu bedrängen,

lieber Widerstand bis aufs Blut leisten sollt, als der Duldung dieses Aberglaubens beistimmen" (in the trans. of Schwarz, # 103 (CR # 506) 7. Oct. 1543).

¹²Kurpfalz 1563: Sehling XIV, 337; 2nd Helv. Conf., ch. XX, Leith, 169.

¹³Sehling VIII, 22; see Hubert, 37ff.

¹⁴Sehling VIII, 119. Emergency baptism by laypersons was allowed in Hessen in 1566 and 1573, then again forbidden in 1657 (Georg Ludwig Büff, *Kurhessisches Kirchenrecht* (Kassel: 1861), 240). The composers of the Cologne Reformation felt if at all possible children should not die unbaptized. They should preferably be brought to the font on a Sunday or holy day, or if that was too long to wait, then when the congregation was gathered for a sermon. If necessary, another time was also possible. (Richter II, 37, 39.)

¹⁵Geneva: Niesel, 51; Jacobs, 84. Pullain: Richter II, 155.

¹⁶Ludwig Lavater described the practice in 1559 as follows: "Pueri eo die quo in lucem editi sunt, si sit periculum mortis, & aliàs, vel mox sequentibus (liberum enim hoc est) à vicinis mulieribus ad baptismum deferuntur. Minister vero sic orditur.... Obstetricum praeproperum, ut vocant, baptismum, ecclesia Tigurinae non probat" (De ritibus...eccl. Tigur., 9 a, 11 a). Welti, 64, 45.

The 1563 Order for Kurpfalz also views the church as the only place for a baptism. If possible, it directs, baptism should take place at a regular service of worship, but evidently other times were possible (Sehling XIV, 337).

¹⁷Katharine Zell, "Ein Brief an die genze Bürgerschaft der Stadt Strassburg, betreffend Hern Ludwig Rabus...1557", in: Johann Conrad Füßli, Beyträge Zur Erläuterung der Kirchen-Reformations-Geschichten Des Schweitzerlandes, V (Zurich: 1753), 319f.: "Ach Gott, wie hat Doctor Luther, mein lieber Mann, Capito, Bucer, und andere alte oder erste Prediger des Evangelii, den grossen Unglauben, und Irrthum, der in dem Papstthum gewesen ist, verworffen, und mit grosser Mühe und Arbeit ausgereutet, des ängstigen Taufs halber der Kinder, so sie ungetauft gestorben, dieselbigen nit zu andern Christen, sondern beyseits an ein sonder Orth begraben worden, daß sie sollen des Angesichts Gottes (welches doch die Seligkeit ist) beraubt seyn. Wie mancher armen Mutter hat man da ihr Herz betrübet, zu grossem Unglauben trieben, und des theuren Bluts Christi, so gar vergessen, und seine Kraft dem Wasser, das doch Gott nit zur Heiligung der Seelen, sondern zum rechten Brauch und Erkenntnuß seiner Werk erschaffen hat, gegeben wider alle Lehr Christi, und seiner Apostel? Solches will jetzt schier alles wiederum herfür kommen, und gelehrt werden, wie auch Herr Melchior Specker Pfarrherr zu St. Thomas, da er ein erwachsen Töchterlein taufte, in seiner Predig sagte, wär es hiezzwischen gestorben, wo wäre es hinkommen? Als ob es darum verdammt und des Teufels worden wäre. Wo bleibt da der hohe Verdienst des Herrn Christi...?"

¹⁸LW 54, # 365 (autumn 1532), 58; WA TR 1, 157.

¹⁹WA 53, 205-208; LW 43, 247-250. Especially after the 1560's, books for comforting women in childbirth became a common part of devotional literature for people in various stations and situations (see Hermann Beck, *Die Erbauungsliteratur der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands*, T. 1 (Erlangen, 1883), 157f.

²⁰Sehling VI², 1013.

²¹Grün, "Friedhof", 80ff. Kolb, 376. The Swedish Order of 1561/71 allowed burial of unbaptized infants in consecrated ground (Yelverton, Archbishop, 79). The Lüneburg Order of 1564 and that of Wolfenbüttel from 1569 view the burial of unbaptized children with the "other Christians" as "in den reformirten kirchen eine lobliche gewonheit" (Sehling 6¹, 174, 563).

²²Sehling VIII, 337.

²³Sehling XII, 149. Note 28 suggests that the similarity to the requiem mass was seen in the absence of reading of the scriptures and prayer. On other German Orders see Graff, 366ff., but his evidence is also for the end of the 16th century and later.

²⁴Kolb, 376f.

²⁵Sehling XII, 329.

²⁶"Begräbnis", RGG³ I, 964; Sehling XI, 392 n. 34.

²⁷Sehling XII, 101f.

²⁸WA TR 5, 193 n. 15.

²⁹LW 54, # 5496-5500, 431ff.; WA TR 5, 192ff.

³⁰Heide Stratenwerth, "Selbstzeugnisse als Quellen zur Sozialgeschichte des 16. Jahrhunderts", in: Molitor, et al., ed., FS Zeeden, 29f. She particularly mentions Philippe Ariès' History of Childhood.

³¹Ibid., 30f. She continues: "Ferner ergibt sich daraus, daß die aus einem säkularisierten - im konkreten Fall: eher stoischen als christlichen Positionen verpflichteten - Denken heraus entwickelten modernen sozialwissenschaftlichen Fragestellungen und Erklärungsmuster für eine Zeit, in der Verhaltensweisen stark von christlich-religiösen Einstellungen mitbestimmt waren, sich sehr rasch als unzureichend erweisen können" (31). To judge this is another task, but the degree to which one agrees or disagrees with the feelings that appear to be involved in this statement need not determine agreement with her other insights. Statements in letters of Calvin (n. 137 below) and Hans Rudolf Lavater (n. 37 below) suggest a reluctance to express one's grief to friends for fear of being a burden, if not of appearing to have weak faith. Social conventions regulating expression of emotions, an ingrained or natural reserve, as well as religious conventions and convictions may all affect the way one expresses grief.

³²Traugott Schieß, ed., Briefwechsel der Brüder Ambrosius und Thomas Blaurer 1509-1567, (Freiburg: 1908-1912), III, # 1727, # 1729-1734, 101-105. Cf. the final stanza of Ambrosius Blaurer's hymn (EKG # 281):

"Wie's Gott gefällt, so nehm ich's an,
will um Geduld ihn bitten.
Gott ist allein, der helfen kann;
und wenn ich schon wär mitten
in Angst und Not, läg gar am Tod,
so wird er mich wohl retten
g'waltigerweis. Soll's sein, so sei's!
Ich g'winn's; wer nun wollt wetten!"

³³Schieß, II, # 955, 130f., 138.

³⁴Raget Christoffel, Heinrich Bullinger und seine Gattin (Zurich: 1875), 132f.

³⁵Heinzpeter Stucki, Bürgermeister Hans Rudolf Lavater, 1492-1557 (Zurich: 1973), 138, 134, 20 n. 1, 133.

³⁶Ibid., 134f. The original of this is printed in Stucki's Quellentext, # 25, 290f.

³⁷Ibid., 135f. Original printed as # 26, 291ff.

³⁸Schieß, III, # 1735 (24 Feb. 1551), 106.

³⁹Quoted by Martin Ebon, ed. & trans., The Last Days of Luther (New York: 1970), 18.

⁴⁰Schmidt-Grave, 36.

⁴¹Quoted by Schmidt-Grave, 35: "Es hat...doctor Martinus nicht erst die vergangene nacht angefangen zu sterben, sondern lenger denn ein ganzes jahr hat er immer gestorben, das ist mit gedancken vom tod umgangen, vom tode gepredigt, vom tode geredt, vom tode geschrieben."

⁴²Schmidt-Grave, 39.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Franz, Messe, 183 n. 1, 64f. Franz writes that in the middle ages "der plötzliche Tod als das schlimmste Unglück betrachtet wird."

⁴⁵On preparation for death see ch. 9, sec. 1.

⁴⁶Pastor Knauer in Dinkelsbühl warned his parishioners that those who had not received the eucharist for a long time or who were known to be unrepentant sinners would not be buried with the ceremonies of the church if they died suddenly ("geheling") (Sehling XII, 149).

⁴⁷Dietrich, "Was die Christen für Gedancken", in: Etliche Schrifften, 155f.

⁴⁸Ibid., 156.

⁴⁹Ibid., 156f.

⁵⁰Ibid. This rule was applied with its cutting edge in the other direction by Knauer, who said in his remarks to the KO used in Dinkelsbühl that unrepentant sinners who had scorned the eucharist would not be buried with Christian ceremonies if they died suddenly (Sehling 12, 149).

⁵¹Sehling XIII, 507f., text & n. 6.

⁵²Mohr, 391.

⁵³Althaus, 60: "So ist mit dem bösen schnellen Tod im Munde der Evangelischen nicht das sakramentslose, sondern das glaubenslose Sterben gemeint."

⁵⁴Schmidt-Grave, 38.

⁵⁵Ibid. EKG # 341, "Aus meines Herzens Grunde", stanza 3.

⁵⁶WA 303, 30. The Tischreden preserve the following dialogue: Luther remarked during an exchange about dying: "Ich habe sorge, ich werde einmal plötzlich dahin gehen, still schweigend, das ich kein wort reden werde." Melancthon responded: "Sive vivimus, sive morimur, Domini sumus (Rom. 14.8). Und wan ihr schon die treppen hinunter fielest aut scribens subito extinguereris, noch schadt es nicht. Esto Diabolus odit nos, Deus tamen protegit et servat" (WA TR 5, # 5495 (Sept. 1542), 192; LW 54, 430.)

⁵⁷Büff, 231.

⁵⁸"Gefängniswesen" II.1, RGG³ II, 1247 (K. Janssen). For provisions in the KOO of lower Saxony see Otto Hubert Kost, "Einzelseelsorge in niedersächsischen Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts", Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte 69 (1971), 68-78.

⁵⁹Copied at least by: Hessen 1566 & 1574 (Sehling VIII, 330-335), Kurpfalz 1577 (Sehling XIV, 177.181). Gallus' Order for Regensburg (1567?) indicated that it should be used (Sehling XIII, 484).

⁶⁰1543ff., Sehling XI, 533. The editions from 1545 insert after the sentence ending "...found you in your sins" : "There eternal death would certainly have followed, for death belongs upon sin" (ibid., n. h-h).

⁶¹Sehling XI, 531ff. Hanging, according to Dietrich, was the punishment for theft; for murder it was beheading (ibid., 534).

⁶²Bullinger, Bericht der Krancken, ch. XV: "Wie man aber die berichten unnd trösten solle die umb iro mißthün willen vom läben zum tod gericht werdend, kan ein yeder wol uß allen vorgehenden handel samlen: diewyl ouch sust kein allgemaine form mag gestellt werden, deßhalb das die menschen die man zü dem tod führt nit glyche händel, gmüte noch anfächtung habend, da aber der bericht unnd trost nach gelägenheit personen muß gericht werden, doch sind das die gemeinsten stuck die allen gar nach füglich sind" (unnumbered, fvi b-fvii a).

⁶³The Handbock of Olavus Petri (Yelverton, Manual, 104), Württemberg 1636 (Richter I, 269), Hohenlohe 1578 (Sehling XV, 240), for example.

⁶⁴Yelverton, Manual, 107.

⁶⁵Agendbüchlein, Sehling XI, 535.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Richter II, 274; Sehling XIV, 405.

⁶⁸Sehling XIII, 232f.

⁶⁹Richter I, 351; Niesel, 59; Jacobs, 98.

⁷⁰Richter I, 29.

⁷¹According to Sehling XIV, 405 n. 51. In the copy of De ritibus...eccl. Tigur. in the Tübingen Universitätsbibliothek the page given in Sehling (fol. 23 verso) contained no reference to prisoners, nor could one be found elsewhere in the book.

⁷²Schwarz, # 103 (CR # 506), 7 Oct. 1543.

⁷³Legendbüchlein, Sehling XI, 536f.

⁷⁴Ibid., 535f.

⁷⁵Egli, Aktensammlung, #1406 (6 May 1528), 616.

⁷⁶Bericht der Krancken, ch. XV (unnumbered rechte): "Wenn man sy dann anhebt Binden, unnd an die walstatt hinuß führen, vermane man sy der Banden und ußführung Christi, der sin eigen crütz an die richtstatt getragen hat. Daby berichte man sy nach der lenge aller deren articklen, die man grad erst vor den banden inen allen in summa fürgehalten hatt. Und so vil mee, das sy ire sünden bekennind, und in Jesum Christum vertrauwind, yederman verzyhind und vergäbind, yederman mit irem ellenden exempel warnind vor schanden und lastren zesyn, yedermanns fürbitt begärind, und ernstlich selbs zü Gott rüffind. Da sol man inen erklären die artickel deß gloubens, unnd das vatter unser. Unnd hiehar dienend dann ouch alle capitel diß büchlins vom vi. cap. an. An der richstatt aber söllend sy vermant werden ob sy vilicht etwas wyters verhandlet, darumb ander lüt möchtind gepyniget werden, das sy das yetzund fürkommen und iro böß fry in geheim oder sust bekennen wöllind: demnach das sy iro seel allein in Gottes hand, schirm, gnad und barmhertzigkeit mit glouben und styffer hoffnung befehlind, wie daoben im xi. capitel geleert ist. Vorab aber wirt dann füglich syn das exempel Jesu Christi, wie das im xii. capitel mit kurtzer summ begriffen ist."

In Sweden, too, a priest evidently went along to executions. Olavus Petri's instructions suggest using on the way an exhortation from his liturgy for visiting the sick. When they arrived there was to be another exhortation, the reading of a conflation of the Marcan and Lucan accounts of the thieves crucified with Christ, an exhortation to the onlookers to kneel and pray for the prisoner, "that he may die with a stedfast faith in our Saviour", and intercessory prayer, the Lord's Prayer, and a final exhortation: "Dear brother, think now of naught save of Jesus Christ who hast suffered death for thee....Thou dost die with Christ, that is, in the knowledge of Jesus Christ: therefore shalt thou surely enter with him into his kingdom. In the name of Jesus Christ I declare unto thee freely that this day thou shalt be with him in paradise. Therefore give thyself into the power of God..." (Yelverton, Manual, 104-107).

⁷⁷Sehling XIII, 425ff., 484.

⁷⁸Quoted by Franklin Littell, "What Butzer debated with the Anabaptists at Marburg; a document of 1538", Mennonite Quarterly Review 36 (1962), 269. Another theme which might have been included here is that of martyrs. It is omitted as not being part of the pastoral ministry of most ministers, as our other "special circumstances" are. Calvin's letters went off to strengthen martyrs in many places, as readers of Schwarz' collection soon notice. How many other pastors would have included this as one of their normal duties? Furthermore, other ministers were probably most likely to have faced people willing and forced to die for their faith in the form of Anabaptists (cf. Clasen, 403ff.) and others of what Bucer termed the "third reformation" ("Grund u. Ursach", MBDS 1, 258). Attempts to minister to and/or convert them is a theme deserving and needing more attention than was possible within this study.

⁷⁹Gerhard Krause, "Luthers Stellung zum Selbstmord", Luther 36 (1965), 50-71.

⁸⁰Ebon, 18.

⁸¹"Selbstmord", LThK² IX, 628 (K. Hörmann). Alwin Schultz, Das häusliche Leben der europäischen Kulturvölker vom Mittelalter bis zur zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts (Munich/Berlin: 1903), 406.

⁸²Halsgerichtsordnung of 1532, according to Wolfgang Trillhaas, Ethik, 2nd ed. (Berlin: 1965), 190.

⁸³Krause, 60f., 51ff. Krause gives three sources for Luther's new understanding of suicide. From his study of scripture he could not conclude that suicide was condemned in the Bible. Then, out of his personal experience and the Bible came his understanding of Anfechtungen. Finally there were his knowledge of suicides in the past and contemporary reports which gave food for thought. (*Ibid.*, 51ff.) N. Paulus, in one of the rare articles on the subject, seeks to show that the suicide rate among Protestants was higher than among Catholics in the 16th century (as in his own time), and that an apologetic problem was thus created for the Protestants. ("Der Selbstmord im 16. Jahrhunderte", Germania. Wissenschaftliche Beilage 1(1896), 5ff.)

⁸⁴LW 54, # 222 (7 April 1532), 29; WA TR 1, 95.

⁸⁵Krause, 61ff.

⁸⁶WA Br 10, # 3773, 112; Krause, 62.

⁸⁷Krause asks: "Was bedeutet es, daß Luther die für den Selbstmord maßgebliche Imagination - ob sie nun an den Umständen erkennbar ist oder nicht - grundsätzlich auf den Satan zurückführt, daß die Selbstmörder 'vom Satan Gewalt leiden' und so 'wie einer in einem Wald von einem Räuber ermordet wird'" (56). Yet while he recognizes that one should not assume this mode of speech was simply superstitious nonsense, he also does not seem to this reader to satisfactorily explain "die inneren Zusammenhänge zwischen seiner (Luthers) Gottesanschauung und seiner ständigen Rede von der satanischen Anfechtung" (*ibid.*). This is a major

problem, especially when trying to make Luther relevant for contemporary issues, as Krause evidently wishes to do. But a discussion of his article would take us too far afield at this point.

⁸⁸WA Br 6, # 1974 (27 Nov. 1532), 386f.

⁸⁹Ibid., # 1975, 388f.

⁹⁰See above, n. 84.

⁹¹Bericht der Krancken, ch. XIV (gloss: "Von denen die sich selbs tödend."): "Die sich aber selbs verderbend sind eintwäders by iro vernunft, oder in prästen und unsinnigkeit gefallen. Die by güter vernunft uß ungedult, gyt, widerwillen, oder das sy ioch sust die hand Gottes nit erzügen, noch erwarten wöllend wie und was Gott mit inen handle, sunder in verzwyflung sich abthünd, und also dem Bösen fynd statt gebend, bezügend mit iro thaat das sy keinen glauben noch hoffnung zü Gott habend, und sind die ellendisten menschen und creatures uff erden: dero byspil alle menschen billich erwecken und vermanen sol, das im niemants lasse die sorgen diser zyt zevil abgewünnen, sonder das ein yerlichs sine sachen mit gedult in Gottes willen stelle, unnd mit ernst bitte, Herr für uns nit in versüchung, sunder erlöß uns von dem Bösen, Amen" (unnumbered recto).

⁹²Ibid.: "Die aber mit kranckheit beladen und uß unsinnigkeit sich begärend zeverderben, söllend flyßlich bewart unnd geartztet werden, für die selben sol man ouch ernstlich bitt unnd fürbit thün, das sy Gott begnade und erlöse. So die selben ouch unbescheiden wärend, und uß toubsucht anders von Gott und der sälligkeit redtind dann sich gebürt, söllend darumb nit frävenlich verurteilt werden. Dann der Herr sölich brästen nit rächnet: stelle aber ein yeder sin sach mit Gott diewyl er noch vernunft und verstand hat, so wirt im hernach sin armsällig unbesinnt yrsällig läben und jamer nit schaden am heil: mithinzü sol aber ouch das gebätt der gloubigen ernstlich geübt werden und nit ufhören. Welche aber die iro nit anders erwartetend und versorgtend, dann das sy selbs uß toubsucht und radt oder sorglose umbbrächtend, wurdend mee schuld haben dann die es thünd, und aber nit wissend was sy thünd. Dann die müssend wir der Barmhertzigkeit Gottes befehlen, yhene aber dem gericht und der straaff. Hab ich umm etlicher willen haryn setzen wöllen, die sich hier inn vil bekümmerend, uff das sy bericht wüssend was sy halten und thün söllind."

⁹³WA Br 10, # 4046 (1 Dec. 1544), 692f.; Krause, 60.

⁹⁴Rohner-Baumberger, 48.

⁹⁵Paul Burckhardt, ed., Das Tagebuch des Johannes Gast (Basel: 1945), 230f. See also the entry for 7 Sept. 1545, which relates that a man being brought out of prison to a "peinlichen Verhör" cut his throat. "Und als der Henker ihn auf sein Roß geladen hatte und in den Rhein werfen wollte, erhob sich gerade unterwegs ein so furchtbarer Sturmwind, daß er in die Luft gehoben wurde und merkte, wie der Sattel in acht Stücke zerbrochen und das Pferd erblindet war, wobei er selbst fast bis zum Tod

erschöpft war, so daß er den Leichnam im Feld liegen lassen mußte in Angst vor dem drohenden Tod. Solches aber vermag der Teufel mit Gottes Zulassung, um den armen Menschen Schrecken einzujagen; ihm sollen wir im Glauben widerstehen; so wird er fliehen, wie der hl. Jacobus gelehrt hat" (240f.).

⁹⁶Graff, 366.

⁹⁷Ibid., 365.

⁹⁸Trillhaas writes: "Eine Wende zur Milde der Beurteilung zeichnet sich in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts ab" (207).

⁹⁹Kolb, 384f.

¹⁰⁰Kolb refers to a superstition still held in the 18th century in Württemberg whereby a field where a suicide was buried was believed to be especially susceptible to damage by storms (378 n.1). The quotation from Luther's Tischreden at the beginning of this section (n. 84) mentions not removing the body from the house through the door.

¹⁰¹On a woodcut by Jost Amman entitled "Handelsallegorie" or "Allegorie der Buchführung" (Augsburg: 1572) the following verse comments on the effects of an epidemic on economic life:

"Wann böse Seuch kombt in ein Landt
und die Gwerbßleut sterben zuhand
So kombt die übung auß dem brauch
und die Berckwerck vergehen auch." (Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum: H 128.)

The plague (Pest) was by no means the only disease causing epidemics, of course. Helmut Vogt, Des Bild des Kranken (Munich: 1969) describes different ones (74ff.). He writes: "Der Ausdruck 'Pest' galt oft auch für andere Krankheiten, ja, mitunter meint man keine spezifische Diagnose, sondern lediglich ein Synonym für Seuche" (74).

¹⁰²Sehling XIII, 56 n. 1.

¹⁰³Quoted in Klaus, 223. Psalm 91 ("He who dwells in the shelter of the Most High, who abides in the shadow of the Almighty, will say to the Lord, 'My refuge and my fortress; my God, in whom I trust.' For he will deliver you from the snare of the fowler and from the deadly pestilence;...You will not fear the terror of the night, nor the destruction that wastes at noonday.") was applied by the Jews to the plague, Luther said, and he was pleased. He had not done the same only because he feared that it would be superstitiously prayed against the pest the way the Gospel according to St. John was applied to lightning (LW 54, #5503 (Oct. 1542), 434; WA TR 5, 195). The Psalm appeared in the form of a song "to sing consolingly in the congregation at a time of plague" around 1530 (WA 35, 228 n. 1). Arrows sent by an angry God in the form of pestilence was an ancient symbol; the connection of St. Sebastian with the plague is because of this (Reformation in Nürnberg. Umbruch und Bewahrung, exhibition catalogue (Nürnberg: 1979), 184).

¹⁰⁴"Ob man...fliehen möge", WA 23, 355; LW 43, 127. The two explanations were not mutually exclusive, as Luther demonstrated as he continued: "Denn wie wol ich achte, das alle Pestilentz durch die bösen geister werden unter die leute gebrach gleich wie auch andere plagen, das sie die lufft vergifften odder sonst mit einem bösen odem anblasen und da mit die todliche gift ynn das fleisch schiessen, So ists doch gleichwol Gotts verhengnis und seine straffe, der wir uns mit gedult untergeben sollen, und unserm nehesten zu dienst also unser leben ynn die fahr setzen...."

¹⁰⁵Sept. 1543 to François de Mandallaz in Cernex, Schwarz # 101 (CR # 443). Calvin could also believe in a conspiracy to spread the disease, though still with God as behind everything. He wrote Myconius in Basel in March 1545 (in the trans. of Schwarz # 128 (CR # 627)): "...Hier sucht uns der Herr erstaunlich heim. Denn vor kurzem wurde eine Verschwörung von Männern und Weibern entdeckt, die seit drei Jahren die Pest in der Stadt verbreiteten durch ich weiß nicht welche Giftmischerei. Obwohl fünfzehn Weiber verbrannt, einige Männer noch grausamer hingerichtet worden sind, einige im Kerker selbst den Tod suchten, noch fünf- undzwanzig gefangengehalten werden, hören sie doch nicht auf, jeden Tag die Haustürschlösser mit ihren Salben zu bestreichen. Sieh, in welcher Gefahr wir schweben. Gott hat bisher unser Hause unversehrt erhalten, obwohl es schon mehrmals angegriffen wurde...."

¹⁰⁶Franz, Messe, 189f.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., 178ff. Gesellschaft Schweizerische Zeichenlehrer, Basel, "Arbeitsmaterialien", # 15, "Zum schwarzen Tod".

¹⁰⁸15 Oct. 1541, Schwarz # 80 (CR # 363).

¹⁰⁹Klaus, 221 (Melanchthon's letter: 5 January 1544).

¹¹⁰Thomas, 173f.

¹¹¹Sermon on Ps. 91, Klaus, 223f.

¹¹²Ibid., 222.

¹¹³Klaus, 224f. To put an end to this return to pre-reform habits, Dietrich wanted to abolish the elevation. When the council refused for fear of upsetting the people, and the other clergy refused to act without council approval, Dietrich did so on his own (ibid., 225ff.).

¹¹⁴WA TR 2, # 1455 (spring, 1532), 104; LW 54, 152.

¹¹⁵Thomas Platter, The Autobiography of Thomas Platter, trans. E.A. McCaul (London: 1839), 43; Thomas Platters Selbstbiographie, transcr. by J.K. Rudolf Heman (Gütersloh: 1882), 83.

¹¹⁶Sermon on Ps. 91, Klaus, 222.

¹¹⁷Johannes Brenz, Bericht. Wie man sich in sterbenden Leuffen der Pestilentz Christlich halten soll (Tübingen: 1565), 22: "Da sich auch begeben, das ein Diensteehallt in eines Haußvatters Hauß an der Pestilentz kranck wurde, so kan unnd mag die Liebe des Nächsten, ja das natürlich Recht nicht erleiden, das man solche krancke Person, auß forcht der Vergiftung, hinweg auß dem Hauß

auff die Gassen werffe, unnd lasse es verderben. Und dz ist nicht allein von den Eehalten züverstehn, sonder auch da ein frembder auff der Gassen mit der Pestilentz angegriffen, so erfordert das natürlich gesatz: Alles was ir wölt, das die Leüt euch thün sollen, das solt ir inen auch thün, das man ein solchen in seiner gegenwürtigen letsten Not, unangesehen der gefärd, so darauff steht, nicht verlassen soll, dann dem Nächsten in seiner öffentlichen, gegenwürtigen Not, sovil möglich zühilff kommen, ist ein Gebott Gottes, und ein Notturfft. Aber das leiblich Leben lenger zübehalten, ist weder Gottes Gebott noch ein Notturfft. Darumb wölcher ehe wil sein leiblich Leben (das doch ungewiß und unnotturfftig ist) erhalten, ehe er will dem nöttigen Gebott Gottes gehorsam sein, der wille des ewigen Erbtheils, mit dem Sonn Gottes im Himmereich nicht theilhaftig werden."

¹¹⁸9 June 1560, Schwarz # 629 (CR # 3212).

¹¹⁹"Ob man...fliehen möge", WA 23, 323f., 347; LW 43, 123. Calvin in the letter of 9 June 1560: "One may try to avoid the danger of infection like fire or the sword" (Schwarz # 629). Brenz, Bericht: "Dann solche Flucht ist an im selbs nicht züverwerffen, und züverdammen" (12).

¹²⁰"Ob man...fliehen möge", LW 43, 122f.; WA 23, 345, 347.

¹²¹The letter of 9 June 1560 (Schwarz # 629).

¹²²"Ob man...fliehen möge", WA 23, 340; LW 43, 120. Brenz wrote in his Bericht: "Jedoch so ist keiner, so sich vor dem Todt fürchtet, züverdencken, als ob er hiemit an im selbs, wider den Glauben, und deßhalben sündtlich, und verdamlich handelt, dann unser Herr Christus, hatt mit güttem gnädigen Willen, solche Forcht in disem Leben in Blüt und Fleisch pleiben lassen, unnd nicht von uns nemen wöllen, dz er dardurch uns unserer Sünden erinnerte, und in anzürüffen erweckte, damit wir durch sein gnad darin züm ewigen Leben bewaret wurden" (12).

¹²³Keith Thomas calls plague "primarily a disease of the poor" (789f.). Our sources do not seem to assume or suggest that, although the quotation below (n. 125) might be interpreted in that direction, at least with regard to the rulers. Perhaps in the towns of southwestern Germany and Switzerland proportionally more of the poor died, but those higher up on the social scale were also struck down and do not appear to have expected that they were less vulnerable. This is, however, a question to be answered only after further specific research.

¹²⁴Lu, "Ob man...fliehen möge", WA 23, 345; LW 43, 122f. Dietrich, see Klaus, 224. Cal, letter of 9 June 1560, Schwarz # 629. Brenz, Bericht, 21: "Da aber die Umbstende also gestallt, das ein Person, neben der gemeinen Liebe, dem Nächsten mit sonderer Verwandtschaft, Berüff unnd Pflicht, wie ein Vatter dem Kind, das Kind dem Vatter, der Brüder der Schwester, die Schwester dem Brüder, das Weib dem Man, der Man dem Weib, der Pfarrher seinen Pfarrkinder, der Artzet denen so in bestellt haben, der Knecht dem Herrn, etc. zügethon, und verbunden ist, so will es sich vor Gott nicht

verantworten lassen, das eins das ander, in offentlicher, gegenwärtiger not verlasse, und darvon lauffe." The Pfalz-Neuburg Generalartikel (1576) contains the following provision on support for sick servants: "Zur zeit sterbender not, auch sunsten, so oft arme ehehalten (= Vertragsmäßig in die Hausgemeinschaft aufgenommene Dienstboten) oder dienstknecht, auch ander frembden urplötzlichen niderfellig und krank wurden oder mit dem erbgründ (= Erbgründ = Aussatz?) und ander schweren süchten beladen weren und aber von ihrem eigen nit ze leben, auch von ihren herrn oder frauen underhaltung nicht erlangen möchten, sollen von gemainen almosen oder spitaln undergeschleift, geheilt und zimlich underhalten werden so lang, bis si ir gesundhait zimlich erlangen, und doch die herrn und frauen darneben durch die kastenpfleger ermant werden, ihnen in ansehung (,das) si in derselben diensten niderfellig worden, zum wenigsten ein handraichung und hilf ze tuen" (Sehling XIII, 211).

¹²⁵Dietrich, quoted by Klaus, 224.

¹²⁶Brenz, Bericht, 16: "Darumb wann ein Pestilentz, oder ein andere Kranckheit zur Straff der Sünden einfellt, so würdt ja erfordert, das man sich, vermög des spruchs Petri, under die gwaltige Hand Gottes demütige. Dise Demütigung aber besteht nicht darinn, das man die Göttliche Mittel auß frevel und mütwill verachten soll, sonder besteht darauff, das man die Sünde erkenne, und Christlich Büß thue. Darnach dz man sich der ordenlichen Müttel, so Gott selbs hiezü verordnet, nämlich das Gebett, und natürlich Artzney (wölcher dieselb seiner gebür nach überkommen kan) danckbarlich gebrauche." Cf. Lu, "Ob man...fliehen möge", WA 23, 363, 365; LW 43, 131.

¹²⁷Brenz, Bericht, 10, 16ff.: "...das ferner gesagt würdt, dz fliehen vor der Pestilentz, unnd die verordnung des weltlichen Magistrats, von dem zügang oder beywonung der Gesunden bey den Krancken, oder Krancken bey den Gesunden, etc. sey wider die Liebe des nächsten, ja wider das natürlich gsatz, so erfordert, das ein Nachbar dem andern in der nott züspringen soll, ist bald, aber gantz unbedächtlich unnd onunderschidlich geredt....Dann die Liebe des Nächsten, erfordert...auch das der Kranck des Gesunden, sovil möglich, verschonen soll....Also auch weltlich Verordnung, mit dem außschliessen der Krancken, und zügang zü den Gesunden, mag in der Liebe des Nächsten, mag auch wider die Liebe des Nächsten fürgenommen und angericht werden." "Unnd solche Verordnung ist also gar nicht wider die Liebe des Nächsten, das sie vil mehr ist ein Determination, Interpretation, und erklärung des Stucks der Liebe, darinn erfordert würdt, das einer des andern verschonen, und keiner den andern mit im in Gefahr Leibs und Lebens füren soll. Da aber die vermelt Verordnung dahin gemeint, und gedeüttet werden wölt, das man den Krancken mit seinem Haußgesind, in sein Hauß verbinden, und verschliessen, und doch darneben, sie nicht mit irer notturfft versehen, oder solchem Haußgesind auß der Statt gebietten, und doch kein ander ort verordnen, darinn sie auffgenommen, und nach gebürlicher Notturfft versehen wurden, oder das einem hiemit sein ordenlichen Berüff unnd Ampt zügebrauchen, und züben verboten, oder dem Vatter der zügang zü dem Son, dem Son

zü dem Vatter...in der not gewöret, oder die notturfftige Gewerb, und handthierung aufgehebt werden sollten, das kan mit keinem gütten Gwissen (als das jenig so stracks dem natürlichen Gesetz, unnd der Liebe des Nächsten widerstretet) fürgenommen, unnd erhalten werden" (26f.).

Such precise narration suggests that such things were known to happen.

¹²⁸Sehling XIII, 435f.

¹²⁹Ibid., 437.

¹³⁰LW 54, # 5503, 434; WA TR 5, 195.

¹³¹Schwarz, # 93 (CR # 431).

¹³²Aug. 1545, Schwarz # 140 (CR # 676).

¹³³Rais, "Die Geisel der Pest über Reutlingen Im Jahr des Unheils 1577", typescript, in the Stadtarchiv, Reutlingen. For provisions on burial during the plague in Hessen and Dinkelsbühl, see ch. 6, sec. 16, p. 196.

¹³⁴Emil Egli, ed., Heinrich Bullingers Diarium (Annales vitae) der Jahre 1504-1574 (Basel: 1904), 77f.

¹³⁵April 1541, Schwarz # 65 (CR # 290); Bainton, 87.

¹³⁶Eduard Stricker, Johannes Calvin als erster Pfarrer der reformierten Gemeinde zu Straßburg (Strasbourg: 1890), 50f.

¹³⁷Schwarz # 65 (CR # 290).

¹³⁸Brenz, Bericht, 27f.: "Und beschließich, das jetztvermelt bedencken von der Pestilentz, ist dahin gemeint, nicht das jemant eintweder zür unchristlichen forcht, oder züm frevenlichen müttwill ursach gegeben, sondern das ein jetlicher in obligender Not an den gütten, gnädigen und vätterlichen Willen Gottes, auch an sein selbs Berüff ermanet, unnd erinnert werde."

IV. IN CONCLUSION

Chapter 8: THE PROTESTANT ART OF DYING

¹Woodcut ca. 1600, with this verse verse below picture of pastor, reproduced in Drews, 38.

²Dietrich, "Simeons predig", in: Etliche Schrifften, 164.

³Klein, 48f., 68f.

⁴Ibid., 5f.

⁵Ibid., 83ff.

⁶Ibid., 84f. "Auch die Sterbeseelsorge erhält eine reformatorische Ordnung" (84).

⁷Ibid., 6.

⁸Ibid., 102f. "Diese seelsorgerlichen Handbücher sind nicht mehr eigentliche 'Sterbe'-bücher, trotz der Gattungskontinuität. Sie verstehen sich als Krankenunterricht" (103). "Das Anfechtungsmotiv wird durch die Auffassung der Sterbestunde als Beichtsituation

zum Thema der Sündenerkenntnis abgewandelt" (7). The word Beicht-situation might have been better replaced with Bußsituation, which is less confined to Lutheranism.

⁹Ibid., 7.

¹⁰Ibid., 112-119.

¹¹Ibid., from the title of ch. 5, sec. 2.

¹²She gives 1536 as the date. While recognizing the book's formal similarity to the "seelsorgerlichen Handbücher" she writes: "Trotzdem ist diese Schrift der Beginn einer Umformung der Sterbebuchgattung" (112). The Bibliographie of Bullinger's printed works, vol. 1, ed. Joachim Staedtke (Heinrich Bullinger, Werke, 1. Abt., ed. Fritz Büsser) (Zurich: 1972), lists the Bericht der Krancken as # 73-80. The first five editions are: Zurich, July 1535; Augsburg, 1536; Zurich, April 1538, May 1538, and 1553 (the last being the edition used, from the Tübingen Universitätsbibliothek).

¹³"Simeons predig", in: Etliche Schrifften, 167, 175.

¹⁴Sehling XIII, 84; also in Kurbrandenburg 1540, Sehling III, 75.

¹⁵Ibid., 84f. (Sehling III, 75f.) An example of how these Bible passages were meant to be used at death to counter the devil's temptations is found in William Perkins' account of the death of John Knox. Stannard (1317, 1322) quotes Perkins' Salve for a Sicke Man: "He lay on his death bedde silent for the space of foure hours, very often giving great sighes, sobbes, and grones, so as the standers by well perceived that he was troubled with some grievous temptation: and when at length he was raised in his bedde, they asked him how he did, to whome he answered thus: that in his life he had indured many combates and conflicts with Satan, but that now most mightily the roaring lyon had assaulted him: often (said he) before he set my sinnes before mine eyes, often he urged me to desperation, often he laboured to intangle me with the delights of the world, but beeing vanquished by the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God, he could not prevaile. But now he assaults me another way: for the wily serpent would persuade me that I shall merit eternall life for my fidelitie in my ministrie. But blessed by God which brought to my minde such Scriptures whereby I might quench the fierie darts of the devill, which were, 'What hast thou that thou hast not received': and, 'By the grace of God, I am that I am': and, 'not I but the grace of God in me': and thus being vanquished he departed."

¹⁶Dietrich, "Was die Christen für gedancken...", in: Etliche Schrifften, 158.

¹⁷Inst. III.9.5. Cf. Tentler, Problem, 95f.

¹⁸Inst. III.9.5.

¹⁹Dietrich, "Simeons predig", in: Etliche Schrifften, 173.

²⁰Lu, "Ob man...fliehen möge", LW 43, 134; WA 23, 371.

²¹Cf. Dietrich, "Simeons predig": "Wer nun entweder selb inn todts nötten stecket, oder bey sterbenden leuten ist, der mag hie lernen, mit was gedancken er soll umbgehen, so er anderst wil einen rechten gewissen trost haben" (Etliche Schrifften, 173).

²²Bericht der Krancken, chapter headings I-XII:

- i. "Der kranck sol sich gentzlich in den willén Gottes ergeben."
- ii. "Die artzer süchen, und die artzny in der kranckheit gebruchen ist nit sünd."
- iii. "Das sterben hat vil trosts unnd lychterung, entladet uns ein mal alles jamers."
- iv. "Schöne, zierd, fröud unnd wollust diser wält sol niemants rüwen, diewyl alles kurtz und unstät ist."
- v. "Wyb, kinder, fründ, ryntag oder armüt sol niemants in der kranckheit zevil bekümbere."
- vi. "Von dem trost deß heiligen Evangelii, und das in Christo Jesu alles heil, die begnädigung unnd verzyhung der sünden sye."
- vii. "Der kranck sol sich nit lassen bekümbere die bezalung der sünden, und die pyn deß fäghüers."
- viii. "Das Jesus Christus die urstende und das läben sye in dem wir uferstandind und ewig läbind."
- ix. "Das der gloub in Christum sin krafft unnd würckung habe und welche die sye."
- x. "Uß dem glauben erwachst liebe Gottes und deß nächsten, das wir unseren fynden vergebend und in allem lyden gedultig, und in aller anfächtung bestendig sind."
- xi. "Von dem glöubigen gebätt, unnd wie sich der kranck Gott befälhen solle."
- xii. "In dem sterben Christi habend wir ein vollkommen exempel wie wir uns zum tod rüsten söllend."

²³Klein, 123f.

²⁴WA TR 5, # 6445, 666.

²⁵See above, 215. Also cf. the 1st stanza of Luther's hymn "Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin":

"Myt frid und freud ich far do hyn
ynn Gotts wille,
Getrost ist myr meyn hertz und syn
sanfft und stille,
Wie Gott myr verheyssen hat,
der tod ist meyn schlaff worden." (WA 35, 438f.)

²⁶Hagenbach, 178. Hagenbach gives a report mostly taken from an eyewitness account, and quotes Oecolampadius as translated here.

²⁷Quoted ibid.

²⁸Ibid., 178f. Perhaps within the Basel clergy there was a range of opinion on communion of the sick. Considering the close connections with Zurich this would not be surprising.

²⁹Quoted ibid., 179f.

³⁰Ibid., 180.

³¹Ibid., 180f.

³²Ibid., 181.

³³Cf. Luther's comments in the Tischreden, n. 56, p. 342. Winfried Zeller writes of the "Letzte-Wort-Literatur" in his article "Leichenpredigt und Erbauungsliteratur im Protestantismus", in: Theologie und Frömmigkeit, II. (Originally printed in Lenz.) His examples of the genre are from the 18th and 19th centuries, but he writes: "Ihre frömmigkeitsgeschichtlichen Ursprünge weisen jedenfalls auf jene objektiven Glaubensbekenntnisse hin, die von der 'ars moriendi' gefordert wurden. (Ref.: Appel, 78f., 121ff.) Diese wandeln sich im Laufe der Zeit immer stärker zu persönlichen Zeugnissen, die der Sterbenden in seiner Todesstunde vor Angehörigen und Geistlichen ablegt. Die 'letzten Worte' können eine Art geistlichen Testaments darstellen, das dann auch öffentlich vor der Gemeinde durch die Leichenpredigt bekanntgegeben wird"(28).

In the record of Oecolampadius' death the development has not progressed so far, but one senses that the godly last words were considered significant, and reassured the mourners. In the next two examples both elements are present: the last words, or the words of the last hours, and the confession of faith.

³⁴16 June 1542. CR # 402; Schwarz # 88. Clebsch & Jaekle print a translation (226ff.). Our translation is from CR, with consideration and use of the German and English ones.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷2 April 1549. CR # 1171; Schwarz # 259; Clebsch & Jaekle, 228f., who print a translation of the whole letter, but date it mistakenly 11 April. Again our trans. of CR uses the other two.

³⁸Cf. Elisabeth Kübler-Ross, On Death and Dying (New York: 1969), ch. 7: "Fifth Stage: Acceptance".

³⁹CR # 1171; Schwarz # 259; Clebsch & Jaekle, 229.

⁴⁰Ibid. Cf. Calvin's letter to Beza on the death of his friend Guillaume de Trie (27 Aug. 1561) in Schwarz, # 674 (CR # 3495). Here Calvin reports on his friend's peaceful death, also the way he seemed to take leave of the world and turn toward the next on the last day. There are also other similarities with the death of Calvin's wife.

Chapter 9: THE PASTOR'S CRAFT, THE DEAD AND THE BEREAVED

¹Dietrich, "Wie die Christen zur zeyt der verfolgung sich trösten sollen, Auß dem 51. Capt. Esaie", in: Etliche Schrifften, 202.

²Leith, 130, who gives Berthold Haller and Francis Kolb as the authors of the "Ten Conclusions", and Zwingli as reviser (129).

³"Verzeichnus der geenderten Mißbreuch und Ceremonien, so in kraft des worts gottis zu Nürnbergk abgestellt und gebessert seyen", quoted in Smend, 174. Smend writes that it may have been written at the end of 1524 (179 n. 3).

⁴According to Frieder Schulz, 1 n. 3.

⁵Schulz also found that their prayers show "eine weitgehende Übereinstimmung in den evangelischen Grundaussagen angesichts des Todes, so daß die konfessionellen Scheidungen beim Begräbnis sich bis heute viel weniger bemerkbar gemacht haben als bei anderen kirchlichen Handlungen" (*ibid.*, 2).

⁶Brecht, 16, gives some of the points of sermons of Brenz from the 1530's and 1540's.

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸Spiegel, Prozeß des Trauerns, 108f.

⁹See above, pp. 165f.

¹⁰Formula brevis, Common Places, 91f.; Résumé sommaire, 72f.

¹¹Cf. Luther's funeral sermons for Friedrich the Wise and for Johann of Saxony, WA 17, 197ff. and WA 36, 237ff., both on I Thess. 4. John 11.33ff., where Jesus weeps for Lazarus, was also used to defend the Christians' right to grieve. Bullinger used both texts, concluding: "Hie aber verschafft der gloub das diß alles mit maß beschähe" (Bericht der Krancken, Fiii b).

¹²Dietrich, "Was die Christen für gedanken...", in: Etliche Schrifften, 150.

¹³Bericht der Krancken, F iiii a: "Oder wär wölte doch den sinen also untrüw sin daß er begärte, das sy widerumb uß der rüw und fröud in dises ellend hargefürt wurdind? diewyl doch ir höchste fröud ist, das sy alles deß jamers den sy under uns gehebt entladen sind."

¹⁴Spiegel, Prozeß des Trauerns, 108f.

¹⁵Above, pp. 219f. Spiegel also mentions this problem: "Wenn in den modernen westlichen Gesellschaften die schweigende, schmerzvolle Annahme die Klage und den Protest verdrängt hat, so ist dies sicher auf die prägende Kraft christlicher Tradition zurückzuführen. Sie bedeutet Ergabung in den göttlichen Willen. Ist der Verlust auf ihn zurückzuführen, muß jeder Protest und jede Klage als Zeichen mangelnden Vertrauens erscheinen, und zwar gleichgültig, ob man sich mit der Hoffnung auf ein Weiterleben nachdem Tode trösten kann oder nicht" (116f.). Yet that is not all one can say on the issue of protest - against death, against God - in regard to Christians and death. One should continue by asking how the Christian tradition copes with protest against God or resistance to the will of God on the part of people. The tradition provides a variety of answers.

¹⁶Inst. III.8.10.

¹⁷*Ibid.* Cf. also III.8.11, where Calvin gives "a living and fully effective precept, 'We must obey because it is unlawful to resist; we must bear patiently, since impatience would be insolence against God's righteousness.'"

¹⁸Inst. III.8.11. Also the letter to Richard Vauville of Dec. 1555, Schwarz # 470 (CR # 2349).

¹⁹An experienced village pastor in the early seventeenth century enlightens a theological student about the ministry in Johann Valentin Andreae's "Das gute Leben eines rechtschaffenen Dieners Gottes", in an anonymous collection of Briefe, das Studium der Theologie betreffend (Weimar: 1780ff.), IV, 357:

"Ich hab gesagt, ein Pfarrer glaubt,
 Das kaum ein Mensch bringt in sein Haupt.
 Er glaubt ein'n Gott daß niemand acht;
 Ein jeder nach seinm Götzen tracht.
 Er glaubt ein'n Himmel, der verschmächt;
 Ein jeder gern hie ewig zecht.
 Er glaubt ein' Höll, die niemand fleucht:
 Ein jeder die breite Strasse zeucht.
 Er glaubt ein Gricht, das niemand besorgt;
 Ein jeder auf die Rache borgt.
 Er glaubt ein'n Lohn, den niemand will;
 Ein jeder will hier Hüll und Füll.
 Er glaubt ein göttlich Regiment;
 Ein jeder meint, das Glück sei blind.
 Er glaubt ein'n Tod, der Alles scheidt;
 Und jeder pocht auf lange Zeit.
 So glaubt er, was die Welt verneint,
 Und ihren Augen ungereimt;
 Damit zeucht er den schweren Karren
 Und wird gehalten für ein'n Narren.

This is one verse of the much longer poem. The first printing extant is from 1619, but Martin Brecht (personal conversation) suggests perhaps 1612 as the date of composition. Brecht's own copy of the Briefe, das Studium der Theologie betreffend was used.

Chapter 10: DISTINCTIONS AND GENERALIZATIONS

¹Christoph Blumhardt (the younger), quoted by Kurt Marti, 22.

²See above, p. 5.

³Karl Meuli, Gesammelte Schriften, ed. Thomas Gelzer (Basel/Stuttgart: 1975) I, 527.

⁴Molitor, "Frömmigkeit", 2f. He gives various suggestions to explain this including: interconfessional tension, polemic, and apologetic (3f.); the variety within Protestantism; the negative feelings about Protestant Orthodoxy (4f.); the Council of Trent as a thankful object for "frömmigkeitsgeschichtliche" research, with the continuity of late medieval, pre- and post-tridentine church life (5); and Luther's "scepticism toward visible piety" (6). On the last point he himself is evidence that this stance of Luther worked as an effective damper on research because Luther was automatically taken as "the" Protestant reformer. Molitor also mentions that those interested in historical Volkskunde saw Protestantism as "blasse Buchreligion" and concentrated on Catholic forms of piety (8).

⁵Davis, 330. The metaphor of the dead as an "age group" stems from André Varagnac (ibid., 327).

⁶Ibid., 330. She makes some valuable observations about that mixture (332f.).

⁷Thomas, 722. See above, p. 75.

⁸Spiegel, Prozeß des Trauerns, mentions the "Sichtbarkeit des Todes" as being "abgebaut" (108), and that "die Sozialisation der Todesverdrängung bereits mit der Kindheit beginnt" (112).

⁹Davis, 328.

¹⁰Spiegel, Prozeß des Trauerns, 117. Cf. Meuli, I, 323f.

¹¹Spiegel, ibid., 109.

¹²Ibid., 110f. Cf. Meuli, I, 312ff. See Keith Thomas on ghosts (701ff.).

¹³Davis, 330.

¹⁴Winkler, "Schol. Leichenpredigten", 186. See ch. 2, n. 21, p. 279.

¹⁵Introduction to Brandenburg-Nürnberg K00, Sehling XI, 117: "In Franken wie in Sachsen (konnte) der Pfarrgottesdienst, also die Messe, einfach evangelisch gereinigt und umgestaltet werden..., während im schweizerischen und schwäbischen Raum der evangelische Gottesdienst aus dem mittelalterlichen Predigtgottesdienst erwachsen mußte und man dort daher die Form des Pfarrgottesdienstes meist als unevangelisch ablehnte."

¹⁶See the discussion of the composition process, ibid., 116-122.

¹⁷Maurer, 7.

¹⁸See Gottfried Locher, "Von Bern nach Genf. Die Ursachen der Spannung zwischen zwinglischer und calvinistischer Reformation", Willem Balke, et al., ed., Wegen en Gestalten in het Gereformeerd Protestantisme (Amsterdam: 1976), 75-84.

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